

Hunters and After Riders: A History of Hunting and the Making of Race in the
Waterberg, 1840s-Present

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPF	Community Policing Forum
DBU	Dense, Bushy, Unsurveyed
EWT	Endangered Wildlife Trust
GFP	<i>Gemeenskapspolisiëringsforum</i> (Community Policing Forum, CPF)
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
KNP	Kruger National Park
NASA	National Archives of South Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SAC	South African Constabulary
SAPS	South African Police Service
SADF	South African Defense Force
SD	Sustainable Development
STD	Sustainable Tourism Development
TGPA	Transvaal Game Protection Association
TLOA	Transvaal Land Owners' Association
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WBR	Waterberg Biosphere Reserve
WildCRU	Wildlife Conservation Research Unit
WLPS	Wild Life Protection Society
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

Introduction

Hunters and After Riders: A History of Hunting and the Making of Race in the Waterberg, 1840s-Present

To write a history of manhunts is to write one fragment of a long history of violence on the part of the dominant. It is also to write the history of the technologies of predation indispensable for the establishment and reproduction of relationships of domination.

Domination presupposes a kind of manhunt.¹

The possibility of a New South Africa came into view in the bushveld through the scope of a rifle. In 1989 the first *bosberaad*, or “bush conference” associated with the transition to post-apartheid South Africa was held at D’Nyala Nature Reserve.² In attendance were F.W. De Klerk (President of South Africa), Magnus Malan (Minister of Defense), Kobie Coetzee (Minister of Justice), among others.³ This *bosberaad* disguised as a hunting trip served as an informal setting where these men could speak discretely and informally about negotiating with the ANC. It was an escape to nature, a place unmoored from the demands of Pretoria and the tense national political situation of the late 1980s. It was a return to the farm (D’Nyala is made up of a series of adjoining farms that were once agriculture and livestock farms, and Tswana and Pedi areas before that) in a conservative backcountry area of the country, located just outside Lephalale in the Waterberg District of Limpopo Province. Subsequent *bosberade* were held there from 1990 to 1993. These hunting trips doubled as political preparations for détente, though not much is said about them other than that they were key to getting formal talks going

¹ Grégoire Chamayou. *Manhunts: A Philosophical History*, trans. Steven Rendall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1 and 4.

² Allister Sparks, *Tomorrow Is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Road to Change* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 103. This first *bosberaad* was held from 4-5 December.

³ D’Nyala lists De Klerk and, “his entire cabinet, plus a group of officials and advisors.” Limpopo Province Department of Economic Development, Environment, & Tourism, *Five Year Strategic Plan for the D’Nyala Nature Reserve, Limpopo Province, South Africa* (March 2013), 25.

with the ANC in preparation for transition.⁴ Cyril Ramaphosa, who, as of the writing of this introduction, was elected the new president of the ANC and became the 4th president of South Africa in 2018, represented the ANC at later *bosberade*.⁵

Despite the change heralded by the New South Africa, in the *bushveld* of the Waterberg beyond D’Nyala, change has come in fits and starts. Mining and its legacies still dominate the skyline in Lephalale where Matimba and Medupi power stations, the largest water-cooled, coal fired power stations in southern Africa are fed by the adjacent Grooteegeluk coal mine. However, the spokes of the tar roads (the R33, R510, R518) that funnel people in and out of Lephalale are lined with game fencing. Hunting and wildlife preservation have come to dominate and are integral to the post-apartheid landscape here. The proliferation of these hunting farms, of the space of escape that D’Nyala provided, comprise a significant section of the post-apartheid boom of an industry that stabilizes

⁴ Sparks, *Tomorrow Is Another Country*, 103-106.

⁵ The ANC participated in talks at D’Nyala in December 1992 and January 1993. *Five Year Strategic Plan for the D’Nyala Nature Reserve*, 25. These talks between the apartheid government were not the only ones taking place. Nelson Mandela was in talks as well, first from prison, then from his securely surveilled house near the Victor Verster Prison Farm (Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: the autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Boston: Back Bay Books, 1995). Thabo Mbeki was participating in secret talks in the United Kingdom (These were popularized in the film *Endgame*). Oliver Tambo was in exile in Lusaka, yet in touch with both Mandela and Mbeki. The result was the South African miracle – a peaceful transition (despite the intense violence of the 1980s within South Africa and the war in Angola), exceptional in its democratic future enshrined in an inclusive constitution. *Endgame*, Netflix, directed by Pete Travis (USA: Daybreak Pictures, 2009).

wildlife populations⁶, preserves *bushveld* flora and fauna⁷, and that holds the promise of development.⁸ Or does it?⁹

The 1989 *bosberaad* was not the first. A Waterberg resident related that there were earlier gatherings of ministers at D’Nyala, of which he had been a part.¹⁰ Initially it began with the invitation of a handful of ministers in the late 1970s to a relative’s farm near Messina to hunt. They hunted near Burgersfort for a few years, and then ended up hunting at D’Nyala. It was over these hunting weeks away that the ministers discussed the future of South Africa and the level of engagement and dialogue that was seen to be necessary in order to move through the impasse with the ANC as the Cold War ended and the future of an apartheid South Africa presented itself more and more as untenable.¹¹

It was during a particular hunt at D’Nyala in 1985, it was related to me, that his colleagues and friends persuaded F.W. de Klerk over drinks and dinner conversations

⁶ Nadia Smith and Sharon Wilson, “Changing Land Use Trends In the Thicket Biome: Pastoralism to Game Farming,” *Terrestrial Ecology Research Unit*, (Port Elizabeth, University of Port Elizabeth, 2002); J.A. Cousins, J. P. Sadler, and J. Evans, “Exploring the role of private wildlife ranching as a conservation tool in South Africa: stakeholder perspectives,” *Ecology and Society* 13, no. 2 (2008): 43; K.C.D. Hamman, PH Lloyd, & J.C Stadler, "Hunting as an acceptable management tool for conservation," *Africa Hunting*, (18 June 2010). <https://www.africahunting.com/threads/hunting-as-an-acceptable-management-tool-for-conservation.15024/>

⁷ Clive Walker, *Baobab Trails: An Artist’s Journey of Wilderness and Wanderings* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2013); Waterberg Nature Conservancy, <http://waterbergnatureconservancy.org.za>.

⁸ Peter A. Lindsey, R. Alexander, M.G.L. Mills, S. Romañach & R. Woodroffe, “Wildlife Viewing Preferences of Visitors to Protected Areas in South Africa: Implications for the Role of Ecotourism in Conservation,” *Journal of Ecotourism* 6, no. 1 (2007): 19-33; Jackiyn Cock & David Fig, “From colonial to community based conservation: Environmental justice and the national parks of South Africa,” *Society in Transition* 31, no. 1 (2000): 22-35; Andrew Ainslie, “When ‘community’ is not enough: managing common property natural resources in rural South Africa,” *Development Southern Africa* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1999): 375-401.

⁹ Andrew Lyon, Philippa Hunter-Jones, Gary Warnaby. “Are we any closer to sustainable development? Listening to active stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa,” *Tourism Management* 61 (2017): 234-247. This study is discussed in detail in the Securing Separation chapter.

¹⁰ This contact has asked to remain anonymous, saying that these stories could be “taken the wrong way”.

¹¹ Sparks and Willem ‘Wimpie’ de Klerk (F.W. de Klerk’s brother) are important here. Sparks as the commentator on all of this through his book, and Willem as the ‘*verligte* [enlightened] Afrikaner’ instigator who brought his brother to the table and reported back from his meetings with the ANC in exile. Sparks, *Tomorrow is Another Country*, 79-80.

across multiple nights that he needed to run for president against P.W. Botha.¹² Magnus Malan and Kobie Coetsee were among those on the hunt. As the story was told, this cohort of ministers, particularly Coetsee, were moved, through these discussion over consecutive years of hunting escapes to the veld, that dialogue with the ANC was the best solution to resolving the political impasse with hopes of de-escalating the violence in the country. This ran contrary to Botha's approach, but Coetsee, as Minister of Justice (previously Deputy Minister of Defense and National Security) was eventually the one to begin dialogue with Mandela while he was in prison and eventually, as the point man for such discussions, facilitated his release from prison.¹³

These earlier *bosberade* brought together government officials in charge of the military operations against the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups on a hunting farm in the Waterberg where discussion of the untenable nature of the current situation was explored for possible escapes. One could argue that the space of D'Nyala – a game reserve in the heart of conservative farming country where game farming was emerging, where hunting was a way of life, and the security of the white farmer was a key part of white political/social fears in the face of rising tides of political change – played a central role in imagining a future for South Africa i.e. hunting and the hunting farm are literally and figuratively not just the setting, but also the discourse of politics, even a politics – the

¹² This would mean that de Klerk would need to challenge Botha for party leadership. That Botha suffered a stroke in February 1989 ahead of the September 1989 election makes the claim of 'running against' Botha perhaps misstated. However, that there were discussions in 1985 – without Botha – between the Minister of Defence (Malan), the Deputy Minister of Justice (Kobie Coetsee, formerly Deputy Minister of Defence), de Klerk as chairman of the House Assembly and soon to be House leader for the NP, among others is notable. Whether it was intentional, or whether Botha did not want to partake in the hunting weekend was not stated. Though later divided opinion about how engage the ANC leads me to read this as Botha being deliberately left out of the weekend and the conversations.

¹³ Sparks, *Tomorrow is Another Country*, 19-20.

‘Total Strategy’¹⁴ – that had failed. Here, a future could be imagined where a hunting lifestyle, experience, and a social connection could be maintained for white communities who perceive themselves to be under threat.

This dissertation contributes to the growing literature that explores how the disciplinary practices of history in and of Africa are grappling with these larger questions of how Africa is represented and taught. It does this by examining hunting in South Africa as a set of practices and a set of discourses. Hunting is a unique location from which to think about the intersections of social organization and relationships to land and resources. Identified early in the 19th century with travel, conquest and exploration, and the gathering/construction of knowledge of Africa, it is one of the key spaces in which a white colonial imaginary was created – an imaginary of heroism, superiority, conquest, and the ‘civilizing mission’, to which the narrative and imagery of hunting made a substantial contribution.¹⁵ Additionally, it serves as a barometer of African displacement, dispossession, and conscription through its association with control of land and resources through legislation and practice.¹⁶ It is the points of intersection between land, resources, legislation and narrative in which the practices of hunting must be thought that provide the conceptual and historical space within which to understand the interactions and the

¹⁴ ‘Total strategy’ is a term which came into common use during the era of P.W. Botha and was portrayed by its authors as the apartheid government’s response to the perceived threat of the ‘total onslaught’ of anti-apartheid movements <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/unfolding-total-strategy-1948-1989>.

¹⁵ See my analysis in the After Riders and After Thoughts chapter where I discuss the role of hunting narratives and frame this via Isabel Hofmeyr’s textual analysis of correspondence between English settler farmers in the Waterberg. Isabel Hofmeyr, “Turning Region into Narrative: English Storytelling in the Waterberg” Essay for the University of Witwatersrand History Workshop “The Making of Class”. February 9-14, 1987.

¹⁶ Hunting operated alongside the demarcation of farms and the creation of reserve land associated with the Land Act of 1913. This was a process that began decades earlier and continued to be expanded for decades to come, including the early colonial setting aside of hunting land, which became preservation and national park land (most notably Kruger National Park). See Jane Carruthers, “‘Wilding the farm or farming the wild’: The evolution of scientific game ranching in South Africa from the 1960s to the present,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 63 (2008): 160-181.

historical implications of colonial and apartheid governance in South Africa with the post-colonial, post-apartheid present.

The central question which frames my dissertation is: how does the historical constitution of race through hunting, particularly the role of the unequal power of English and Afrikaner settler farmer archives in constituting the contested historical experiences and representations of indigenous black Africans¹⁷ in the complex ongoing struggles over the scarce resources (land, animals, cultural capital) of hunting, allow us to address continuing post-apartheid challenges of racial formations and development claims as an historical problem?¹⁸ I argue that answers lie in the contentious relationships that are inherent in the discourses and practices of hunting. This dissertation spans a ‘long 20th century’ to analyze hunting narratives and policies from the 1840s into the post-apartheid to show how differences in hunting practices between black African/English/Afrikaner were textually produced as racial through narratives and policy rather than, as Crain Soudien has recently suggested, “born fully developed.”

At issue in this discussion of the social... is the dominance that the idea of ‘race’ has come to exercise in explanations of the social. How does it happen that by the time South Africa turns into a single country in 1910, ‘race’ becomes the totalising trope for managing its explanation of itself? How does it come to determine what South Africa is, who it is and how it is to develop? In explaining the role the idea of ‘race’ plays in South African social explanation, it is important to make the point that ‘race’ as a form of knowing about the social is *not born fully developed* [my emphasis]. It evolves towards a state of dominance.¹⁹

¹⁷ See my discussion below for why I use the term ‘black African’. In the Waterberg black Africans communities are primarily Tswana and Pedi, however the present day game farms are also often operated by black Africans from other parts of southern Africa, notably Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Mozambique.

¹⁸ These are not static, or only ‘settlers’ and ‘farmers’. They are landowners, policy makers (local/national), military, administrators, citizens/subjects, and members of cultural/ethnic groups, historically constituted through apartheid. One of the post-apartheid challenges of race and development are to confront apartheid’s legacies in meaningful and productive ways historically.

¹⁹ Crain Soudien, “New Accents on the Social: Thinking on South Africa’s history at UWC,” *South African Historical Journal* (2018): 3.

In part my dissertation is a traditional look at change over time, but my concern is less with change and more with the consequences of accumulating discourses of hunting. These discourses figure black African practices, colonial (English/Afrikaner/apartheid) legacies, and modern/technologized developments in an increasingly globalized world determined by unequal relationships of power between North and South, urban and rural, white and black, ‘traditional’ and modern, and unequal economic relations of exchange through neoliberal capitalist systems.²⁰ As a consequence of this accumulation, a careful engagement with issues of race in rural hunting farms has been further obscured through the continued racial ordering of the world (re)made in the post-apartheid hunting industry. Through a careful analysis of narrative alongside a critical reading of the archives, this dissertation seeks to understand and interrogate how the processes of (re)telling hunting’s histories in the Waterberg District and Limpopo Province are intricately tied to the hierarchies and politics of South Africa’s colonial and apartheid past, as well as present attempts to overcome, or in some cases perpetuate, those legacies. This work gets at, following Adam Ashforth, “the essential ambiguity of the encounter that lies at the heart of the writing: the ambiguity of writing about domination in a context where the power to encode the past in writing is itself both a product of domination and form of domination.”²¹ Hunting serves as the opening to trace the negotiation of this ambiguity in attempts to figure answers to the social questions and problems posed to colonial governance by and through the making of race.

²⁰ I do not treat these binaries as fixed but explore them for how they are often the assumed starting ground for discussions around hunting and need to be explored for their complexities and nuances.

²¹ Adam Ashforth, “Review: The Xhosa Cattle Killing and the Politics of Memory,” *Sociological Forum* 6, no. 3 (September 1991): 590.

That the official discourse does not mention these *bosberade* prior to 1989 poses questions of chronology, of political maneuvering, of history and its archive. That these meetings occurred on a hunting trip in a nature reserve in the Waterberg poses questions of and to hunting as a way of knowing that is structured spatially and narratively in particular ways in South Africa – most centrally for my argument here this is racial, though class and gender are important analytical factors as well. Hunting as an escape from the stresses of urban political life, but also its association with a romantic tradition of a simpler time of connection to (but never appropriation of) the land and the African wilderness, indicates the importance of hunting spaces to the social fabric of white South Africa and informs the projections of a future New South Africa to come in particular ways.²²

D’Nyala serves as an entry point into an historical analysis of hunting. Most obviously from its history as a nature reserve open for hunting, it enables a discussion of hunting practice – planning and executing a hunt with proper equipment, provisions, infrastructure – and connections to politics. Further, D’Nyala as a reserve that was once a private white hunting farm opens questions of land, ownership, agriculture, livestock, game, and veld management – all comingling in the state’s relationship to white private property and black reserve lands – and development practice.²³

²² In the stories about the early 1980s hunts with the government ministers, it was related that on one occasion Malan arrived so stressed from work in Pretoria that he could not be bothered to socialize until he had slept the night and gone hunting in the morning. This sense of a hunt the bush as a rejuvenating cultural space, particularly for white Afrikaners, is argued by Andre Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting as a Performance of Belonging in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (London: Lexington Books, 2015), 109-135.

²³ Sparks wrote, “D’Nyala is an exotic setting for such a delicate political polemicizing: a cluster of thatched buildings and quaint log cabins set among browsing giraffes and antelopes, all enclosed behind a high electrified fence, a secluded island in the heart of the most reactionary community of white racists in the whole of South Africa. “Man, this is lion country,” is how the chief game ranger, Jan van Breda, describes this area, referring to the local populace rather than the animals in his little reserve.” Sparks, *Tomorrow is Another Country*, 103.

Why Hunting?

Hunting provides an opportunity to investigate the possibilities and dangers inherent in the inversion of power where, as Chamayou notes, “prey sometimes band together to become hunters in their turn. The history of a power is also the history of the struggle to overthrow it.”²⁴ This assertion prompts questions about the relation of the state to its citizens and a need to revisit debates around resistance and collaboration.²⁵ Chamayou discusses how resistance “produces a crisis in the order of domination”.²⁶ My argument examines the structures of power that frame resistance as insurgency and that discursively authorize the suppression of this resistance by force (counterinsurgency) – a form of manhunting.²⁷ Thus the capture and/or suppression of subject people remains a violent manhunt, as is the governance that keeps resistance at bay through surveillance and control, through policing and law – hunting laws, the rights of access to land and

²⁴ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 3. Paul Bloom argues in his essay “The Root of All Cruelty?” that those whom Chamayou asserts as having the power to ‘struggle to overthrow’ is precisely the recognition that those people are human, have a face in humanity. People are dehumanized as an exercise of power precisely because they are human, because they pose a threat to those in power, and are thus in need of control, often exercised through violence (or as Chamayou would say, a manhunt). Paul Bloom, “The Root of All Cruelty?,” *New Yorker*, November 27, 2017. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/11/27/the-root-of-all-cruelty>

²⁵ The limits of escaping the conscriptions of categories of hunting, tracking and capture as they relate to the relationship between people and the State are what David Scott would argue are inescapable aspects of modernity. See David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 21. For a discussion of the debates around resistance and collaboration, see Allen and Barbara Isaacman, “Resistance and Collaboration in Southern and Central Africa, c. 1850-1920,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 10, no. 1 (1977): 31-62.

²⁶ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 8.

²⁷ See also Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013) where he draws a parallel between slave hunting and contemporary strategies of counter-insurgency. In South Africa the parallel would be the commando, see above, later used as a military unit on the cape frontier and then in the South African war (see Deneys Reitz in *After Riders* chapter and my discussion of the commando in the *Achter die berg* chapter), and then the strategies of counter-insurgency used to undermine the resistance in exile and in the underground as part of the “Total Strategy” under PW Botha in the 80s (see above) and the Blood Lines chapter.

animals, and the guns to hunt them. In the Waterberg, and in South Africa more broadly, this is also centrally about race.

This is not just a dissertation about hunting in the Waterberg, but is a way of thinking with hunting and the Waterberg as a way to see how black Africans and their hunting knowledge/practices have been turned into an ‘after rider/after thought’ as part of a very modern project of colonialism that in the post-apartheid continues by other means as a project of development. The social history imperative to recuperate voices is a critical intervention, but this dissertation explores when and where and how those voices were lost, rendered an ‘after thought,’ in the first place. This angle of analysis is prompted by the difficulty of getting people to talk about hunting, particularly poaching, and the continued erasure of particular stories and voices through the socio-economic relations of the hunting farm that remains primarily white owned and black African operated (see Methodology below and its discussion of Ranger’s article). This project is an interrogation of that loss, of the processes by which that gap in knowledge and voice was manufactured through hunting.²⁸ By looking carefully at the archive of hunting – its narratives and its policies/practices – this dissertation gets at the discursive violence that goes hand and hand with land appropriation, capitalism, and private property; making hunting quintessentially a modern/colonial practice. By ‘narrative’ I mean the constellation of stories, practices and justifications used to organize both the infrastructure and institutions of hunting, but also to attune ones thoughts/minds/understanding toward a particularly cultural way of knowing hunting through the land and through encounters with animals and nature. This is similar to

²⁸ The relationship between the ‘factory’ and ‘manufactured’, the factory worker and the farm worker, is taken up in the Blood Lines chapter.

discourse²⁹, but with a leaning toward storytelling, toward drawing on a particular historical thread to represent hunting in a particular way. This is relevant in the Waterberg today where popular histories of hunting still proliferate and the (re)imagining of the Waterberg, drawing on the long history of white settlement claims to land and property through hunting, renders the authors as historians of the area (see the Imagining Waterberg chapter). Goodrich differentiates two threads of this type of narrative when he makes his distinction between Carruthers' white nationalism (Afrikaner and English) and Afrikaner nationalist thinking.³⁰ Yet colonialism was not just about conquest but also about racialized knowledge production/destruction/and the creation of race. It was about fine-tuning what it meant to be 'native'. This production was both physically and discursively violent (see Baucom below) and remains so (farm murders and xenophobia, see Blood Lines chapter).

There has been an inadequate conceptualization of race. This is in part due to the dominance of the imperial and industrialization project in the historiography in determining race. What has been obscured through this? I am saying that there is something particular about race in the frame of colonial racism, "which divides humankind into allegedly superior and inferior or civilized and barbaric races"³¹ that has something to do with hunting and the hunted. Taking the step with Ginzburg and Chamayou (see below) that takes us to race as originary to hunting and narrative – the way to establish the difference between human and nature – or between human and the

²⁹ I am drawing on Foucault's conception of discourse as an assemblage of texts in relation to each other that provide meaning through mutual reference (<http://www.michel-foucault.com/concepts/>). See my discussion of discourse in the Implements of Destruction chapter.

³⁰ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 124-125.

³¹ Étienne Balibar, "Racism Revisited: Sources, Relevance, and Aporias of a Modern Concept," *The Modern Language Association of America* 123, no. 5, Special Topic: Comparative Racialization (October 2008): 1634.

animal – then this goes much deeper than modernity. It goes back to the hunting of people, the foundational project of capitalism that starts with slavery (Baucom). We associate hunting with earlier times, with non-modern activity. But in fact this dissertation shows how hunting keeps morphing and stays a very modern practice, now in the form of conservation (see *Securing Separations* chapter). It is not just an historical part of frontier making, but it *is* modern – through its technology, capital, enlightenment/colonial thinking, governance, environment, social control, and extraction.

Speaking about race and racism in these processes is certainly fraught due to the way that explicit ways of speaking about race are banned in the post-colonial era.³² Yet as Stuart Hall reminds us, race remains a ‘floating signifier’ that is not fixed, but dependent on various contexts.³³ Similarly, John Soske refers to race as an ‘unstable concept’ embedded in state violence and produced by state structures of domination.³⁴ I use the term “black African” when speaking about race in the Waterberg and I do so because it is used in the post-apartheid context. It is how my friends and colleagues in the Waterberg refer to themselves and the accepted way that I can speak with/about them. Other language to refer to black Africans in this dissertation is used either in directly quoted text, or in quotations as a way to emphasize that particular language and the way it is used in text to mark and inscribe racial difference through the power of the archive. These other names (signifiers, concepts) of race – ‘native’, ‘boy’, ‘kaffir’, ‘coloured’, ‘black’ – name the assumed biological difference of race that marks colonial racism,

³² Balibar, “Racism Revisited,” 1631.

³³ Sut Jhally and Stuart Hall, *Race: The Floating Signifier* (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 1996).

³⁴ Jon Soske, “The Impossible Concept: Settler liberalism, Pan-Africanism, and the language of non-racialism,” *African Historical Review* 47, no. 2 (2015): 2-4.

where racism operates as, “the ideological or mythical projection of natural differences in humankind.”³⁵ The ‘projection’ of ideology and myth in hunting is done through its inscription and its practice where perceptions of colonial racial difference are reinforced – these are the ‘after riders,’ ‘occupiers,’ ‘poachers,’ and ‘game guards’ that I discuss across the chapters below. Goldberg argues that race relations are approached as social and political problems. Solutions to the threats posed by these problems need to be administered and controlled through law and policy.³⁶ This is not to dismiss other discussions of how to understand race, but here I seek to examine how hunting came to constitute the white/black African marker of race and its relation to the land and animals.

This dissertation shows how the issue of race as associated with hunting is overwhelmingly structural and social, not individual or moral, and is tied closely to the dependence of white settler capital and property on black African labor. Land, people and animals, and changing notions of property associated with all of them are, I argue, across/over time constituted by race. Balibar argues that critiques of racism need to be recast to examine, “the forms and consequences of internal exclusion.”³⁷ What I argue is that hunting was central to the formation of internal exclusion in South Africa and race was the marker by which exclusion was indexed. This is in part due to hunting’s initial historical inroads in the Waterberg and surrounding areas, as well as to the narrative rendering of the hunt and the black African in relation to the hunt as a modern activity – ivory hunting, trade, technology of the gun, the novel, sciences, adventure and exploration – a modern activity that in the white settler discourse became part of claiming

³⁵ Balibar, “Racism Revisited,” 1635.

³⁶ David Theo Goldberg, *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Inc., 2009), 283-289. See my discussion of these ‘problems’ in the Implements of Destruction chapter and my reading of Adam Ashforth and Helena Pohlandt-McCormick on commissions of inquiry.

³⁷ Balibar, “Racism Revisited,” 1632.

sovereignty over the land through ownership and rights to ‘properly’ hunt game and subsequently protect it from those who would destroy it. My argument tracks the accumulations/accretions of race through ‘racism’ in hunting, and the relational/related accumulations of history, with our notions/habits of thinking with ‘progress’ in history that deflect from the accumulations of race in different iterations of ‘racism,’ that are not even named racism any more (see Securing Separation chapter) over time. A history of hunting explores these changing discourses of ‘racism’ as an object of knowledge.³⁸ The language of hunting is reflective of a development of race as a notion/concept that had to be created as the defining category of the social in southern Africa. Hunting is not just about labor and abuse of black African workers, but it is an experimental space where race is formed/informed. The black African does not get just designated as a domesticated worker, but is hunted as a poacher.

The sections below frame how I approach this question of ‘Why Hunting?’: The Waterberg (a marginal space, an eddy); History and Disciplinary Knowledge (about language, text, and reading); History and Hunting (historiography of hunting and how the popular hunting travelogue authors are read as historians); Race and History (race and hunting in South Africa); and Sustainable Development (questions and legacies of the language of ordering of black Africa under the State); and Methodology.

The Waterberg

³⁸ Balibar, “Racism Revisited,” 1631.

The Waterberg is geographically positioned alongside a section of the Limpopo River that forms the northern boundary of South Africa to Botswana.³⁹ Large areas of 'bush' dominate this peripheral rural area.⁴⁰ The nature of this 'peripheral' status has changed over the last century and this dissertation tracks hunting in the Waterberg over a 'long 20th century' from the 1840s through to the early 2000s.⁴¹ The rural in southern Africa is most often associated with 'poor,' 'black,' 'female,' and 'less or under-developed' and rural areas are often portrayed as communities 'left behind'.⁴² Isabel Hofmeyr's analysis of narratives and storytelling focused on the concerns and daily practices of English whites in the 'remote' Waterberg area at the turn of the 20th century and remains one of the few works on white settlement in the region.⁴³ As a 'backwater' area, the Waterberg needs to be understood not as a stagnant static area resistant to change, but rather as a sort of 'eddy' where ideas and exchange between settlers and local communities swirled – reinforcing certain relationships but always moving and adapting

³⁹ The term 'Waterberg' in Afrikaans means 'water mountain'. This is a reference to the mountainous region's many rivers and water sources. Interestingly, the Waterberg district now extends west of the mountains into areas of the Limpopo province where the seasonality rains leaves the 'bush' suitable for game farming, but not for large agriculture or livestock operations. See Appendix 1 for a map of the region.

⁴⁰ The 'bush' or 'bushveld' is considered marginal agricultural land historically less suitable for crops or livestock and more suited to hunting industry game farms, continued limited access for blacks South Africans to adequate resources (housing, electricity, education, health care), and unemployment.

⁴¹ I utilize the concept 'long 20th century' as outlined by Ian Baucom who argues categories and processes of the 18th century repeated and intensified in the 20th century. See my discussion of Baucom below. Ian Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

⁴² Indeed, the title of one of the first studies associating women with the rural in relation was Elizabeth Gordon's *The Women Left Behind: A Study of the Wives of the Migrant Workers of Lesotho* (International Labour Office, 1978). There is scholarship on 'poor whites' and 'black elites' (see *Achter die berg* chapter), the dominant narratives around the rural remain in this vein. A recent Mail & Guardian article highlighting the importance of revisiting ideas about the rural is "Bantustans are dead - long live the Bantustans" <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-07-10-bantustans-are-dead-long-live-the-bantustans>. See also Gary Minkley and Ashley Westaway, "The Application of Rural Restitution to Betterment Cases in the Eastern Cape" *Social Dynamics* 31, no.1 (2005): 104-128.

⁴³ Hofmeyer, "Turning Region into Narrative". She did not explore the experience of Africans (though she acknowledged the difficulty of doing so given the English colonial source material), or Afrikaners, but her work provides a way to think through the contested relationships between English, Afrikaner, and African communities in the Waterberg region and how they evolved over the 20th century.

(see *Imagining Waterberg* chapter). This is precisely the type of space/area where national, regional and local notions of South Africa - around identity, social relations, race relations, economic systems, and land use - percolate and become codified and embedded in the lives of people and its history.⁴⁴ These discourses have intersected and evolved in the economies, social relations, institutions, customs, behaviors, practices, routines, norms, conventions, rituals and the laws that govern hunting. In today's economic literature and in post-apartheid 'development' goals, attention is paid to maximizing the economic profit and development goals of corporations,⁴⁵ NGOs, wildlife management associations, tourism and hunting associations.⁴⁶ While the geography of hunting in the Waterberg today is enclosed in farms and reserves, it was not always this way. I stay close to discourses on hunting as a key part of the practice of organizing the space of the farm over the 20th century. This was both a practice of policy centered on agriculture and livestock (grounded in the veterinary sciences that emerged as a field of study at the turn of the 20th century⁴⁷) as well as a practice of the narrative construction (or justification) of such policy and practice.

Hunting and Disciplinary Knowledge

⁴⁴ Travelogues, diaries and photographs of late 19th and early 20th century hunter/explorers that passed through or entered the Waterberg reflect early conceptions of European and Afrikaner understandings of hunting, land access/ownership, and relationships with local communities. See below and *After Riders* chapter.

⁴⁵ Stafford Thomas. "Wildly Successful," *Financial Mail*, April 5, 2012, accessed April 12, 2012, <http://www.fm.co.za/Article.aspx?id=169129#>. Thomas's article promotes the economic success of game farming in South Africa and provides an example of the many articles that encourage the growth of the industry without attending to the social concerns for black Africans that it advocates for by name.

⁴⁶ The most prominent of these associations are the Professional Hunters Association of South Africa (PHASA) <http://www.phasa.co.za> and the Confederation of Hunters Associations of South Africa (CHASA) <http://www.chasa.co.za>. Each of these has local branches around the country.

⁴⁷ Helen Tilley, *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); William Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

I argue that it is centrally important that the Waterberg was initially conceived of as a colonial space through hunting (not, for example, through conquest such as in the Eastern Cape) because of the connection between race and hunting through its practice and its narration. Indeed, Carlo Ginzburg argues that the origin of narrative is to be found in hunting:

The hunter could have been the first “to tell a story” because only hunters knew how to read a coherent sequence of events from the silent (even imperceptible) signs left by their prey.⁴⁸

Ginzburg sees hunting narratives as originary to the human practice of story telling: giving an account of oneself and/or narration were first an oral recounting of the events of the hunt. They would have been related immediately in the process of tracking an animal by reading the signs it left, likely recounted at the locating of the kill, recounted again upon return to the group, and perhaps recounted further at festivals, ceremonies, and important seasonal markers of time. The hunter would both be a local (native) teller of the story of the hunt, as well as perhaps that hunter from afar (the traveler/hunter).⁴⁹

While the technologies of the hunt may have changed in the forms of weaponry, gear,

⁴⁸ Carlo Ginzburg. “Clues: Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes,” in *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, eds. Umberto Eco and Thomas Albert Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 89.

⁴⁹ Hofmeyr. “Turning Region Into Narrative,” 10. Hofmeyr’s comment here on the storyteller from afar was referencing Walter Benjamin, “The Storyteller” in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 83-110. “When someone goes on a trip, he has something to tell about,” goes the German saying, and people imagine the storyteller as someone who has come from afar. But they enjoy no less listening to the man who has stayed at home, making an honest living, and who knows the local tales and traditions” (84). Benjamin states in the paragraphs before this quote that storytelling is deteriorating through our distance from it through the rise of print media and technologies of war in politics and economics (84). The value for great storytelling (for Benjamin, print stories that are closest to the oral) was falling because the value of experience was falling (83-84). Despite the problems with that statement (there is much literature on oral history as an archive, on memory, and its critique. See for example, Anna Green, “Individual Remembering and “Collective Memory”: Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates,” *Oral History* 32, no. 2 (2004): 35-44; and Carli Coetzee and Sarah Nuttall, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), what interests me here is the relationship of narrative to discourse, its ‘value’, and technologies of power. See the discussion of Ranajit Guha’s work below. See also, and importantly for Africa and its oral ‘traditions’ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) and the importance of the hunter/storyteller from afar in foundational tales such as *Sundiata*, Djibril Tamsir Niane, *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali* (London: Longmans, 1965).

and tactics, relating the story of a hunt remains an accounting of the definition of the hunt:

[to] hunt means to kill, shoot at, capture or attempt to capture, follow or search for or lie in wait for with intent to kill, shoot or capture, or wil[l]fully disturb⁵⁰

To follow and search, to lie in wait, demands a visual and physical assessment of terrain, tracks, geology, geography, and meteorology. This must then be integrated to inform the speculative movements of prey in relation to a hunter's current position. Subsequent and corresponding movement, pause, and recalculation by both hunter and prey all reference this data, which changes with movement. To hunt is a tactical dance of life and death. It follows that its narration would be similar.

Such practice of conceptual recalculating of changing conditions also speaks to the ease with which the language of the hunt has evolved to describe, inform and define disciplinary forms as well. Louis Liebenberg argues that the origins of science can be traced to the art of tracking. The process I described above of thinking and calculating a hunt, Liebenberg connects to the logics of *science*, and finds their origins in the inductive-deductive and hypothetico-deductive reasoning that takes visible signs and connects them to invisible processes.⁵¹ This quickly becomes the central practice of

⁵⁰ Draft New Game Ordinance, 1949, Definitions. I use the definition of hunt here from the Transvaal Game Ordinance because that is the language that permeates the discourses related to my argument. However, various definitions of hunt all circulate around these categories of pursuit, capture, and kill. As an English word, hunt is considered to be within the earliest 2% of entries into the Oxford English Dictionary. It's first recorded use, 'hunta', is currently listed c1000, though the origins of the word are said to be 'old' and, "[f]rom its form, *hunta* is an old word, not a derivative of *huntian* hunt v., but apparently rather its source." This makes sense if we take Ginzburg seriously; if the first narratives were of a hunt, the earliest vocabulary would be of the hunt. www.oed.com - search 'hunt'.

⁵¹ Louis Liebenberg, *The Art of Tracking: The Origin of Science* (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 2016 [1990]), 155. Ginzburg and Liebenberg have parallel arguments with different foci. Liebenberg centers his book on the seemingly mundane details of various animal tracks, the actual practice of following animal spoor, and gestures toward the intellectual argument of hunting as a science. Ginzburg takes the practice of placing careful attention to mundane details at the heart of his argument about the science of deductive reasoning as it emerged in the late 19th century. The connection between ancient hunting practices and a diagnosis approach to human sciences connects how hunters following traces, tracking, the unseen through

history, and subsequently, for the basis of a persistent critique of its methods and assumptions.⁵²

In short, we can speak about a symptomatic or divinatory paradigm which could be oriented toward past or present or future, depending on *the form of knowledge* called upon. Toward future—that was *divination* proper; toward past, present and future—that was the *medical science* of symptoms, with its double character, diagnostic, explaining past and present, and prognostic, suggesting the likely future; and toward past—that was *jurisprudence*, or legal knowledge. But lurking behind this symptomatic or divinatory model one glimpses the gesture which is the oldest, perhaps, of the *intellectual history* of the human race: the hunter crouched in the mud, examining a quarry's tracks.⁵³ [my emphasis]

History, as a 'science' of a particular kind, is based in the concrete of the archive (the tracks left behind) and takes its forms through the conjectural model of narrating the archive.⁵⁴ Historical science then becomes linked carefully to power via who collects and narrates the archive. Ginzburg links the proliferation of these principles of semiotic analysis to the emergence of the state's power, desire for control of society and practices of distinguishing individuals through naming and characteristics.⁵⁵ The late 19th century convergence of capitalism, class struggle, law, property, crime, and the importance of new systems of identification have received extensive intellectual attention.⁵⁶ Ginzburg's piece remains one of the few intellectual engagements on hunting's relationship to these

clues - sight, smell, sound, material – relates to an inheritance of hunting knowledge passed down orally and through folktales for generations and further to an elaborated practice of disciplinary deduction. Ginzburg describes the characteristic feature of the hunters' kind of knowledge as the ability to "leap from apparently insignificant facts, which could be observed, to a complex reality which—directly at least—could not," Ginzburg, "Clues," 87-89.

⁵² Premesh Lalu, *The Deaths of Hintsa: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009); Qadri Ismail, "(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India: Amin, Chakrabarty, and the Critique of History," *Cultural Critique* 68 (Winter 2008): 210-247.

⁵³ Ginzburg, "Clues," 91.

⁵⁴ Ginzburg states, "the historian's knowledge, like the doctor's, is indirect, based on signs and scraps of evidence, conjectural." Ginzburg, "Clues," 93.

⁵⁵ Ginzburg, "Clues," 104-105. Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression," *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (Summer, 1995): 9-10.

⁵⁶ Most notably this comes together in the evolution of Michel Foucault's writings on biopower and biopolitics, governmentality, and the disciplining of bodies within society. The convergences here unfolded in a particular way in the chronology and framing set of categories I explore in the space of hunting in the Waterberg.

convergences of power. He links hunting as a practice of social differentiation to hunting as an intellectual practice that informs how we encounter the world and assess our place in it out of a need for securing our survival. This notion of survival is not explicit in his work, but the exercise of power that he finds in the convergences around hunting is precisely about securing survival of those in power, survival (both physical and cultural) is the undercurrent of Ginzburg's piece – nowhere is this more evocative than in the context of anti-apartheid/anti-colonial struggle and its aftermath, the post-apartheid present. Thus, a history of hunting is not just the social differentiation of who can hunt animals and who cannot, but one of the continued/ongoing exercise of cynegetic power (the power of the hunt) in the division of society and the hunting of humans.⁵⁷ Survival entails addressing the political, economic and social logistics of the problem of protection.⁵⁸

The epigraph from Gregoire Chamayou above premises domination on the manhunt: the violent tracking, seizing, capturing, and/or killing, of a human by another, holding for a moment to the idea that hunting's origins lie in the manhunt – Chamayou argues that the earliest slave hunting in ancient Greece was a technology of acquisition for economic labor and security.⁵⁹ The differentiation of who is to be hunted and who not was justified on a natural division of humanity and that some groups of people were 'slaves by nature', though Chamayou notes this was merely a projection of the master's power.⁶⁰ This was an ontological policing and differentiation of humanity that

⁵⁷ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 15-16.

⁵⁸ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 150.

⁵⁹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 6.

⁶⁰ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 7.

emphasized the analogous form of certain bodies to animality.⁶¹ Such power was not governed by a desire to preserve the slave, but to utilize the slave for economic gain and replace the slave body when needed.⁶² This slave body utilized for economic gain takes on accumulating forms across the long 20th century of this dissertation – the after rider (After Riders chapter), sharecropper/tenant laborer, the farm ‘occupier’ (Implements of Destruction chapter), the game guard (Securing Separations chapter), and the hunting/safari lodge worker (Blood Lines chapter). These various forms are layered and instantiated within hunting laws and other policies that inscribe race into these positions.

Tracing Western philosophical genealogies of power, Chamayou shows how the economically motivated slave hunting for ‘bipedal cattle’ in ancient Greece was opposed in its operation by pastoral power – a political power concerned with securing, protecting, and caring for a flock (subjects). Yet he is careful to articulate how the protection of the flock was predicated on eliminating and exiling the ‘diseased’.⁶³ This pastoral hunt necessarily required “techniques for identifying, excluding, and eliminating dangerous elements” of society.⁶⁴ Such exile was from the community, from the law, and from the security offered by the sovereign, and thus justified the elimination of the exile.⁶⁵ In the carrying out of these pastoral hunts Chamayou sees the first signs of the ‘police state’ in that pastoral hunts were authorized by sovereign power.⁶⁶ These three forms of cynegetic power – slave hunting, tyrannical sovereign capture hunts, and pastoral hunts for the

⁶¹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 7 and 10. This discussion of equating humans to animals is taken up in the After Riders and Blood Lines chapters.

⁶² Chamayou *Manhunts*, 16-18. As a tyrannical political sovereignty, this was exemplified by Nimrod, the biblical king/hunter who acquired subjects by force.

⁶³ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 20.

⁶⁴ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 20.

⁶⁵ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 24-25.

⁶⁶ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 27. Here Chamayou emphasizes that the need for a police state was to help justify the relinquishing of sovereign power some of the subjects in order to capture and kill exiled subjects.

diseased – were all in existence in various overlapping forms at the “dawn of modernity,”⁶⁷ when the introduction of Western capital brought them together in “a vast and brutal process of economic appropriation”⁶⁸ – also known as the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Colonialism, and later Apartheid – and capital became “the great hunting power...in the history of humanity” where the state monopolized “the power of legitimate hunting.”⁶⁹ The movement of white hunters in the mid-1800s into what is now the Waterberg connects the region via hunting (slave hunting, but also the expansion of ivory hunting and its market) at the ‘dawn of modernity’ for white settlement area to the overlapping forms of cynegetic power with capital what Baucom argues were the overlapping systems of “capital, social, and imperial exchange” that were “channeling the flow of bodies, commodities, capital, and power” which had been operating since the 18th century.⁷⁰

Chamayou is instructive here because he marks out the historical moment of convergence of forms of cynegetic power as the 18th and 19th centuries of imperial slavery and colonial expansion.⁷¹ It is in this moment that we can read the suggestion in Chamayou’s argument that the origins of racism may be found in hunting, in particular the manhunt where “the great theoretical innovation of imperialist racism,” was a practice

⁶⁷ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 28.

⁶⁸ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 42. Chamayou’s example here is of Indians in the New World: “Expressing and conceiving the enormous manhunts in the New World thus required that all three of the major traditional motifs of cynegetic power be conjoined: the Indians were simultaneously *acquired* as slaves, *subjugated* as subjects, and *proscribed* as outlaws.” Emphasis original.

⁶⁹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 151.

⁷⁰ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 83.

⁷¹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 151. He notes this was a ‘spectacular manifestation’ of Marx’s primitive capital accumulation.

of “the zoologization of social relations” produced by zoologists and natural historians.⁷²

It is necessary to quote Chamayou at length to show how this racial manhunt

accumulated and was (is) deployed,

In the metropolitan space, the state, breaking with the old model of banishment, now monopolizes the power of legitimate hunting. However, phenomena of popular hunting reappear within it, in the form of disturbing hunting packs that are mobilized against the background of racial caste domination (lynching), putting groups in competition on the market for wage labor (hunts for foreigners), and the redirection of political antagonisms (hunts for Jews). Extreme right-wing movements recognize in the hunting pack a social force capable of providing them with a base for their political hegemony. Having come to power, they institute a state racism in which racist hunting becomes the heart of a program whose murderous goals can then be pursued with the means of state power. The zoological model of natural predation is associated with the biopolitical mechanisms of state racism to provide the matrix for legitimizing the genocidal project.

Today, state xenophobia, if it breaks with biological racism’s hunts to exterminate, reactivates and reconfigures certain fundamental traits of the ancient hunts of proscription.⁷³

This theorization of human predation as potentially originary to the

making/manufacturing of race, as an historical problem of our modernity, then requires

an analysis of the overlapping technologies of hunting animals and hunting humans. In

the hunting farm of South Africa across the 20th century this means attending to the forms

⁷² Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 47-48. See also Saul Dubow, *Scientific Racism in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and Qadri Ismail, *Culture and Eurocentrism* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

⁷³ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 151. This is a departure from Hegel’s master/slave dialectic, according to which Chamayou argues African slaves have been excluded from the dialectic due to their double negation that at once denies their humanity, but necessarily must in part recognize that humanity in the denial, but that can be justified by blaming Africans for their own enslavement through a return to the discourse of natural slavery and the division of humanity. Chamayou sees the inaugural relationship of Hegel’s dialectic as a dialectic of the hunter/hunted. Chamayou 56 and 58. See also my discussion of Balibar above. Additionally Leela Gandhi, linking colonialism to the master/slave dialectic, states, “Colonialism, then, to put it simply, marks the historical process whereby the ‘West’ attempts systematically to cancel or negate the cultural difference and value of the ‘non-West’.” Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Crows Nest: Allen & Ulwin, 1998), 16.

of social division articulated through protection that are in fact a program of racial exclusion that deflects from the predatory nature of power and capital.⁷⁴

What Chamayou sees as a reactivation of ancient manhunts in the form of state xenophobia, Ian Baucom argues is a recurrence as a result of finance capital's repeated accumulation founded on the violent abstraction of the value of the slave body by the sovereign power during imperial slavery.⁷⁵ While Chamayou returns to ancient manhunts, Baucom's argument is centered on the notion of the 'long 20th century' where he sees the categories and processes of speculative finance capital's accumulations through the 18th century slave trade repeated and intensified in the late 20th century. Rather than repeating Baucom's argument, I am thinking hunting along the lines of how Baucom, via Benjamin and Arrighi, sees the "dialectical play between...cultural artifact and capital form; epistemology and mode of accumulation; repetition and oscillation" over time.⁷⁶ I read hunting as a cultural practice/epistemology that is repeated as it is articulated in its narration and practice (from the early travelogues discussed in the After Riders chapter to the (re)publishing of similar narratives drawing on the settler past discussed in Imagining Waterberg and Securing Separation chapters). I also read hunting as capital form/mode of accumulation that oscillates over time, first as the means to accumulate capital to settle

⁷⁴ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 153-154. In this dissertation I explore state power supporting and inciting 'interpredation' via class division along racial lines – poor white farmers vs. black Africans (*Achter die berg* chapter), Afrikaner vs. English social division (*Achter die berg* chapter), global development of 'Africa' (Securing Separations chapter), and the security of wilderness (Blood Lines chapter). Rancière argues that it is "philosophy's own most intimate business; how to deal with fear and hate" (36) In this 1992 text (contemporary with the *bosberade* discussions above), Rancière reflects on the re-election of Mitterand in 1988 (under the campaign slogan 'France for the French' – not surprisingly resonating with Trump's call to "get our country back."): "Democracy, he argues, always encounters its greatest challenge in the persistent threat of an exclusionary populace wanting to become One at the expense of a hated Other" (Giuseppina Mecchia, review of *On the Shores of Politics*, by Jacques Rancière, *sympleke* 15, no. 1-2 (2007): 370-372). See also Michel Foucault, Lecture 17 March 1976, in *Society Must be Defended* "Lectures at the Collège de France 1075-1976 (Picador, 1997), 239-264.

⁷⁵ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 149-150; Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, Chapter 1 "Liverpool, a Capital of the Long Twentieth Century," 3-34. And Chapter 2 "'Subject \$'; or, the 'Type' of the Modern," 35-79.

⁷⁶ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 26.

the Transvaal discussed in the *Achter die berg* chapter, and returning as the private hunting farm of the late 20th century and the post-apartheid. This is the moment of Chamayou's convergence of manhunts with capital that for Ian Baucom also mark modernity's foundation in racism. I critically engage interconnected systems of knowledge – such as, following Baucom, historical method, economic theory and cultural representation, and add technological change – as they accumulate and generate each other and therefore also think about how their constructions, productions, displays and expressions are entangled and (re)inforce each other. Accumulation, rather than progress or change, for Baucom, is a more accurate description of a conception of history as it continues to build on the entangled systems of the past in very connected ways.⁷⁷ This is articulated, as I mentioned above via Balibar, as a racial accumulation of language in hunting.

Language

One central argument of my dissertation is that this accumulation is principally one of a language that is marked by race or is (c)overtly racist that gets reorganized and subsumed in conservation and development discourse. Ranajit Guha provides a framework for understanding this language as the 'prose of counter-insurgency' that reinscribes, and has the power to reinscribe, the subjection and subordination of subaltern groups. The specificity of language for Guha is essential and requires close reading of a text to implicate language in the way it acts as the culprit of reinscribing subordinate positions in historical prose. Adjectives, verbs, and phrases that add context, morals and depth to writing necessarily imbue meaning and ascribe identifying markers to subjects.

⁷⁷ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 24-26. Here Baucom lays out his argument, drawing on Giovanni Arrighi and Walter Benjamin, supporting the recurring and intensifying nature of his argument over the 'long 20th century' that spans the late 18th century to the late 20th century.

This can take the form of direct phrasing, asides, parentheses, or digressions.⁷⁸ These markers can have either positive and/or negative connotations, thus organizing texts in such a way that, intentionally or not, bias and shape the perceptions of the audience or reader. This language of situating individuals, objects, or events in context risks a historicist mode of articulating the ‘typical’ as a constructed category.⁷⁹ Mowitt cautions against assuming a context by insisting on the need to “situate situating” and by this he calls for an examining of the historicist assumptions that accompany the work of placing something in context.⁸⁰ Following Guha’s argument of history’s support of official discourse through uncritical incorporation of sources, we find such language to be “specimens of the prose of counter-insurgency.”⁸¹ David Theo Goldberg describes this type of language as “born again racism.”⁸² By this he means a justification for a disinterested policy of ‘equality’ and not ‘quality’. This disinterestedness is a way of understanding the move beyond the ‘naming’ of race, but not beyond the institutional structures that inscribe racial meaning in society. Born again racism sees racism moving from the public sphere into the private sphere, and thus outside of policing or enforcement.⁸³ How do we move from this kind of theoretical conceptualization of the power of language to make race, or the power of racism to become ‘real’ through the language of differentiation, to the historical, the real, and the experiential? In South Africa, where Derrida suggests apartheid was, “the unique appellation for the ultimate

⁷⁸ Ranajit Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 62.

⁷⁹ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 40, 43.

⁸⁰ John Mowitt, *Sounds: The Ambient Humanities* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 13.

⁸¹ Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” 59. This type of language is analyzed across hunting narratives (After Riders Chapter) and official policy discourse (Implements of Destruction and Securing Separation chapters).

⁸² Goldberg, *The Threat of Race*, 23.

⁸³ Goldberg, *Threat of Race*, 24.

racism in the world,”⁸⁴ I argue that it is through hunting practice and its narrations that race becomes real and, to return to Soudien, takes on form and “evolves towards a state of dominance.”⁸⁵

The following chapters trace the interplay between the two central archives that make up the discourse of hunting, namely 1) public discourse – narrative, travelogues, commentary, local histories, and 2) official discourse – game laws and policy, conservation documents, hunting organizations, international governing bodies.

While Guha is focused on the British colonial rule of India, his outline of the way in which historiography becomes complicit in the replication of colonial systems of subjection is instructive. I read his argument as thinking the limitations of history in two ways; as reason/theory and as knowledge production. His main argument is that in the accounts of the revolts by peasants (read as subordinate populations) in colonial history, peasants have been denied their own history. Their subalternity was concretized in “the structure of property, institutionalized by law, sanctified by religion and made tolerable – and even desirable—by tradition”.⁸⁶ I argue the hunting industry was, and remains, central to forming these structures in the Waterberg specifically, and, over time, in and for South Africa more broadly. Guha lays out three types of discourse; primary (official), secondary, and tertiary which are complicit in institutionalizing subalternity – these are equally intriguing to think with in terms of the institutionalization of race, even if it is, in

⁸⁴ Jacques Derrida, *Signature Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 53.

⁸⁵ Soudien, “New Accents on the Social,” 3.

⁸⁶ Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” 45.

the aftermath of apartheid, when racism as an attitude, discourse, and practice is condemned, no longer named as 'race.'⁸⁷

Anxiety lurks like a specter over the intellectual and philosophical thinking about hunting.⁸⁸ Anxiety was a product of colonial and settler relationship with the unknowable other.⁸⁹ To ease this anxiety, it was necessary for both colonial officials and settlers to produce and control knowledge. Lalu's assessment of the production of this knowledge and its subsequent use as empirical and archival historical evidence in identity construction and politics produces three central questions: What kind of disciplinary power did apartheid represent? What kind of normalizing effects does it entertain? Where would we mark the ends of apartheid?⁹⁰ By inserting 'hunting and wildlife management' in place of 'apartheid' in these questions, I investigate hunting's underlying

⁸⁷ Guha, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," Specifically, "Primary discourse...is almost without exception official in character—official in the broad sense of the term" where, "its production and circulation were both necessarily contingent on reasons of State" (47-48). "The secondary follows the primary at a distance and opens up a perspective to turn an event into history in the perception not only of those outside it but of the participants as well" In the form of memoirs, tales and administrative histories, these discourses are separated by time from the event described and intended for a more public audience that took an air of 'presumed neutrality' but remained linked to systems of power [hunting narratives] (51). Tertiary discourse is disciplinary history, "distinguished by its effort to break away from the code of counter-insurgency" through historically siding with the insurgent [social history in Africa] (71-72) Yet without a critical approach to the use of secondary and primary discourses as evidence in its construction, tertiary discourse fall victim to the same prose of colonial commitment and counter-insurgency it attempts to escape (77).

⁸⁸ Chamayou notes the concern over the blurring of racial social boundaries and the need for political hegemony that provides one justification for manhunts, Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 151. Anxiety of social instability is also what drives the performance of Afrikaner nationalist belonging, particularly for men, in biltong hunting in Andre Goodrich's argument about the post-apartheid, Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 159-160.

⁸⁹ Lalu, *The Deaths of Hintsa*, 61. Lalu sees the anxiety around events of Nicholas Gcaleka's quest to repatriate the skull of Hintsa in 1996 as anxiety the discipline of history produced. He explores three main examples of 'imaginary structures' - ways of knowing and understanding notions of change and continuity (pg. 11) - the ideology of emergent settler public sphere (chapter 2) and settler colonial history (chapter 3) and the native question (chapter 4, 28-30). The interaction of these three categories took place on the margins and shifting boundaries of empire, the frontier. These are defined by ideas and questions that structure the search for knowledge at different times and in different places. Gcaleka's intervention (also read as Lalu's intervention in the discipline of history) challenges the homogeneity of imaginary structures of post-1994 South Africa.

⁹⁰ Lalu, *Deaths of Hintsa*, 26. The plurality of 'ends' here questions both the chronology and the aims/goals of apartheid and introduces the complexities to be found when we push further into a dominant, homogenous and static understanding of an apartheid/post-apartheid transition through historical self-criticism. Lalu, *Deaths of Hintsa*, 261.

racial frameworks and the way they created the subjection of agency. I understand subjection of agency here to be the discursive rendering of black Africans into the marginal positions of hunting – as after riders, occupiers, game guards – and I track the narrative and legal processes by which this was, and continues to be done, continues to evolve. The anxiety of the unknown noted by Lalu above, drove the dominant colonial language of production, to return to Guha and Goldberg, of primary discourse that sought to control hesitancy and uncertainty. This hesitancy and anxiety is what drives Ginzburg's notion of survival and Chamayou's logics of protection.

Ian Baucom argues that the foundations of modernity's system of finance capital are found in the slave trade where slaves were transformed from their human and labor value into an abstract monetary value that was guaranteed through insurance.⁹¹ The transformations take place in three areas: the transformation of commodity capital to finance capital, the transformation of intensifying and repeating historical time, and the transformation of allegory to speculative discourse.⁹² These three systems (that produce their own discourses/sources) and their transformation are all interconnected systems of knowledge that generate each other and therefore their constructions, productions, displays and expressions are entangled and need to be actively, critically engaged as they accumulate.⁹³ Accumulation, and recurrence, here is a slightly different, yet important difference from Lalu's invocation to mark the 'ends' of apartheid, that look to the complexities as multiple ends, for the layered historical discourses on which they are grounded.

⁹¹ This coincides with the convergence of Chamayou's three forms of manhunting: slave hunting, tyrannical sovereign capture hunts, and pastoral hunts for the diseased.

⁹² Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 22.

⁹³ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 31-32.

In the late 19th and early 20th century there was an explosion of a romantic literature on hunting in southern Africa.⁹⁴ This was not just a literary phenomenon, but is bound up, following Baucom, in the entangled notions of the abstraction and transmission/representation of Enlightenment philosophy and economics as well. These novels were not just stories. They were transporting in their pages perceptions of the African frontier and of the African Other, the ‘native.’ They were tied to the economics of hunting and the colonial and technological industry that went with it. Ideas of safari on ostensibly empty land, or in pristine wilderness, promoted occupation control and extraction from those lands without regard for the people who were actually there. To employ Baucom’s analysis, I read them as promoting ‘types’ and the ‘typical’ (see After Riders chapter) where a novel’s “style abstracts the object, fact, or event, ‘ennobles’ it, turns it into a thought, a feeling, a sentiment, or...an idea”.⁹⁵ Thinking these novels in terms of secondary discourse removed in time from the events they discuss, they lose specificity and can only transmit and trade in notions of the typical.⁹⁶ These romantic, abstract types fill in for reality and, through replication and repetition in discourse, become ‘truth’. This is the after rider (see After Rider chapter) who becomes at once a literary type, but simultaneously a particular form of labor, monetized/capitalized, subaltern, whose particular skills are at once utilized/appropriated for profit and sport and simultaneously circumscribed by law/policy/practice in order to control the threat posed by the possibility of insurgency (Guha)/of the hunted become hunter (Chamayou)/of the humanity of human animal (Paul Bloom)/vermin being (Mavhunga)/poacher threatening

⁹⁴ See my discussion of this in the After Riders chapter and Kenneth Czech’s *An Annotated Bibliography of Big Game Hunting Books 1785 to 1950* (St. Cloud: Lands Edge Press, 1999), which covers over 600 titles.

⁹⁵ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 285.

⁹⁶ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 39.

the secured farm (Wels).⁹⁷ This genealogy of the ‘typical’ is marked by, “the violence of becoming a ‘type’: a type of person, or, terribly, not even that, a type of nonperson, a type of property, a type of commodity, a type of money.”⁹⁸ I track how this violence extends from the after rider – the physical violence they endured (see After Riders chapter) through to the marginal position into which they were written into successive narratives and official discourse – as the discursive violence of hunting law and policy that rendered them subject to white hunters and white governance across the 20th century.

Therefore I return to Guha and Lalu and their call for a different type of reading. In order to (re)write and (re)think history in the way he advocates, Baucom proposes the need to read dialectically – to read at once from the typical to the singular (event) and from the singular to the typical.⁹⁹ This type of close reading is pushing the limits of how to approach this secondary discourse aspect of the archive, and its production, from previous historicist models the need to read primary discourse per Lalu’s argument.¹⁰⁰ The difficulty for postcolonial historians, as Lalu and Baucom indicate, is to acknowledge the anxiety and witness the melancholy of history. This is a question of ethics and of not repeating physical and material violence through abstraction, generalization, and objectification, but making visible the unique, the singular, and the singularity of pain, exclusion and negation for every colonial subject subjected to it.

The way forward, via David Scott, is to move away from the romantic notion of

⁹⁷ Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency”; Chamayou, *Manhunts*; Bloom, “The Root of All Cruelty?”; Harry Well, *Securing Wilderness Landscapes in South Africa: Nick Steele, Private Wildlife Conservancies and Saving Rhinos* (Boston: Brill, 2015).

⁹⁸ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 11.

⁹⁹ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 48.

¹⁰⁰ The three main constraints faced by postcolonial historians for Lalu are: 1) nationalist histories that invoke the pre-colonial in an uncritical way (not seeing the colonial embedded in renderings of the pre-colonial), 2) Christianity’s influence, and 3) Exploitative systems of modern governmentality (Lalu, *The Deaths of Hintsa*, 142). Baucom would add to this the entangled history of the production of evidence around economics and literary aesthetic as discussed above.

countering oppression with revolution and toward writing and abiding in the tragedy of our conscription to modernity. We are ‘conscripts’ of our modernity (and postmodernity) in the sense that the conditions of the postcolonial present (which we are bound to act within) cannot be adequately addressed through the same conditions of conscription that framed the romantic modern experience.¹⁰¹ These ‘conditions of conscription’, for example, categories of analysis common to disciplines like history and anthropology that only reluctantly interrogate their colonial roots and the legacies of colonial control and institutionalization of knowledge that inhabits/conditions them, are the ones found in Guha’s discourses and that make up Lalu’s archive. Again, in terms of hunting these categories are the after rider, the ‘native’, the ‘occupier’, the poacher, and the game guard. In the late 20th century these categories become subsumed under managerial categories of administrators, conservators, stakeholders, ‘local communities’ (see *Securing Separations* chapter). They are a product of the convergence of Chamayou’s cynegetic power in Baucom’s finance capital and in the recurring accumulations of historical time. Without close reading of language and understanding of the underlying structuring force of conscription, subjection is bound to repeat itself in intensifying ways as its discourse accumulates. Scott’s notion of tragedy, like Baucom’s melancholy and Lalu’s anxiety help us to move beyond the disinterested language of Goldberg’s ‘born again racism’ through attending to the detailed language used to inscribe sentiment into discourse.

Thus histories for and of colonialism must be acknowledged as distorted through the paradigm of colonialist discourse, its authors, intentions, time and language. Not acknowledging distortion results in, “a refusal to acknowledge the insurgent as the

¹⁰¹ Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 130-131.

subject of his own history.”¹⁰² As central to delivering primary, secondary and tertiary sources, the historian is complicit in processes of perpetuating historicist modes of analysis. To continue along the line of linear narrative historiographical progression elides the contradiction, distortion and uncertainty of the relationship between colonizer/colonized, instead positing a imagined structure that defaults to placing events within the replicating ideals of a “commitment to the highest ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity,” resulting in an ahistorical view of history “ill-equipped to cope with the contradictions which are indeed the stuff history is made of”.¹⁰³ This historical tendency to elide the anxieties of history currently limits the ability of tertiary discourse’s attempt to radically remove itself from the prose of counter-insurgency.¹⁰⁴ I argue that a history of hunting, as a history of the inscription of white power/dominance and its replication of race through hunting, exposes the 21st century ‘hunting as sustainable development argument’ as a prose of counter-insurgency – as a veneer through which a racial manhunt recurs to both subject black African populations in systems of global capital (Baucom) and solidify local hierarchies and power structures (Goodrich) by reorganizing, but not abandoning, colonial structures of governance through game/nature policy (Ashforth).¹⁰⁵

One way to read this is to view the state as a “centralized apparatus for tracking and capture.”¹⁰⁶ The assumed timeline of ‘hunting’ in Africa – as a ‘proper’ sport and practice – associates the beginning of hunting with the arrival of European knowledge and technology organized through colonial rule and the state. ‘Hunter-gatherer’, as an

¹⁰² Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” 82.

¹⁰³ Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” 83.

¹⁰⁴ Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” 84.

¹⁰⁵ Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, 2014). I engage with Ashforth’s take official discourse and governance in the Implements of Destruction chapter in relation to the 1945 Game Commission.

¹⁰⁶ Chamayou. *Manhunts*, 77. I trace the specifics of Chamayou’s claims about the colonial state here through the apartheid and post-apartheid state.

anthropological categorization, marks out the difference and the conceptual distance between primordial, pre-historical, indigenous ‘African’ forms of hunting and ‘modern’ ‘civilized’ forms of ‘hunting’.¹⁰⁷ These ‘modern’ categories continue to structure the very ways people come to know and practice hunting, and they are grounded in notions of racial inequality. Chamayou emphasizes that hunting and manhunting are closely connected as forms of power over people, land and animals, each of which needed to be captured. This capture is material in the context of African history in the way the relationships between ivory hunting/slave hunting/colonialism are founded on common practices of tracking and capture and a common technology of the gun.¹⁰⁸ Capture is also conceptual in the way that hunting is foundational to colonial categories of difference. I read ‘capture’ here as in capturing, accumulating, and fixing knowledge about Africa and African people as central to colonial knowledge production across disciplines and practice – geography (mapping), exploration, and ethnography/anthropology – where knowledge about African societies is used to enable colonial governance. In South Africa, racial groups are perhaps and arguably most dramatically captured and fixed through Apartheid’s Population Registration Act (1950) – through both a classificatory and legal discourse – and made material and real through “Influx Control”, and the ‘pass system’ (which let very few pass) which rendered everyone vulnerable to capture for infractions against strictly enforced urban and rural residential segregation.

¹⁰⁷ The term ‘hunter-gatherer’ maintains associations of the precolonial/precivilization and ‘savage’ that place African hunting practices outside and prior to European hunting. A chronology of hunting that is founded on assumptions of the inequality/unrelatedness/separateness of these relationships presupposes their existence and thus becomes preoccupied with the particularities of regulation and control of people land and animals that does not investigate the origins of concepts and ideas that guide such regulation.

¹⁰⁸ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 73-74.

What does it mean to write the postcolonial history of hunting in the Waterberg in this vein? I argue that during colonialism and apartheid, hunting practices, initially part of the founding moment of colonial conquest and land capture, became part of maintaining a status quo of white minority rule through deflecting politics of race and nationalism associated with hunting to environmental and preservation issues; in the process what has been ‘forgotten’ (or subsumed into a ‘prose of counter-insurgency’) is hunting’s roots in and relationship to slavery, colonial conquest and rule, and land appropriation. This had the effect of deferring the politics of racial discrimination in the dominant white settler colonial national discourses (empty land settler practices, capital, mining, industry, nation) to very racially specific understandings of developing the land. In the post-colonial/post-apartheid period, such understandings are now deployed through hunting to make an argument for the benefits of neoliberal sustainable development¹⁰⁹ and for solidifying social belonging.¹¹⁰ I articulate a critique of how the postcolonial period has inherited a legacy of deflecting the politics of history, race and development through the uncritical assumption of these categories and their institutions in the practices of market-driven neoliberal nationalism. Such a critique enables a rethinking of the historical role of hunting and of history in South Africa today.

By attending carefully to the interplay between the narration of hunting (both in novels and in official discourses) and its practices (social, economic, and political ordering of the hunt and the farm) via the conceptual framework laid out above, I make three critical contributions to the scholarly literature on hunting in Africa and to the field of African history more broadly: the history of hunting; race and hunting; and hunting

¹⁰⁹ See my discussion of the Lyon et. al. study as an example of how this remains unsuccessful in Waterberg in the Securing Separation chapter.

¹¹⁰ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*. See below.

and sustainable development. This threefold frame of analysis is connected and overlapping throughout each chapter, but each chapter is also comprised of a particular literature, conceptual frame, and methodology/archive.

History of Hunting

The importance of hunting may lie precisely in its range, from humble survival mechanism for individuals and small groups to a communal pursuit laden with ritual and political, social and economic significance.¹¹¹

The importance of hunting has yet to be adequately addressed in South Africa, though that is changing.¹¹² In part this dissertation fulfills a traditional historical methodology by contributing to the new literature aimed at addressing this lack. Hunting most often enters historical literature as a small part of larger projects and not as the central point of discussion. Many environmental histories about Africa mention hunting's relationship with ecology and land in a degradation/conservation conversation.¹¹³ Additional histories include hunting as a peripheral aspect of broader environmental change.¹¹⁴ Some of the best social histories of hunting are written about East Africa and

¹¹¹ John MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 81. Specific to South Africa and the significance of hunting as a communal pursuit for Afrikaner nationalist masculinity, see Andre Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*.

¹¹² The recent *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* special issues on farm workers (2014) and hunting (2016) are an indication of this, however these issues do not take up my examination here of hunting as conceptual frame and its connection to the constitution of race. See "Hunting in Contemporary Africa," Special Issue *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 34, no. 1 (2016): 1-181; and "Farm dwellers, the forgotten people? Consequences of conversions to private wildlife production in South Africa," Special Issue *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 32, no. 2 (2014): 151-280.

¹¹³ William Beinart, "Empire, Hunting, and Ecological Change in Africa," *Past and Present* 128 (1990): 162-186.

¹¹⁴ Jacob Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change: Environmental Relations in the Making of the Transkei* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006); James McCann, *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa, 1800-1990* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1999); Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Tamara Giles-Vernick, *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Central African Rain Forest* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002); Nancy Jacobs, *Environment, Power, and Injustice: A South African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

helpfully outline interactions along colonial dividing lines through conservation narratives.¹¹⁵ Other scholarship in part explores the relationship of slavery and hunting, though without problematizing or recognizing that slavery *is* hunting, and hunting is always also a manhunt (see Chamayou above), and serves as an example of works that highlight the complex relations of interaction between colonial powers and African communities.¹¹⁶ Yet the emphasis of this scholarship is on laying out/analyzing systems of trade and social relations where hunting serves as supporting evidence for history, not as the interpretive, conceptual frame through which the project is approached. Even works that speak more directly about hunting are not thinking with and through hunting as an organizing theoretical concept, of the possibility of thinking with hunting as a foundational conceptual framework through which human interaction with the natural world, with the Other or the colonized, with the social and the community, with social differentiation etc. is constituted and can be thought.¹¹⁷ I approach hunting in this way to mark out how the labor of today's hunting farms came to be dominated by a distinct racial divide, where black Africans retain the positions of the 'after rider', in the form of drivers, trackers, skimmers, game guards, cooks, maintenance workers, and lodge staff.

To write a history of hunting in the Waterberg demands a reinterpretation of earlier scholarship that traces the intersections of these discourses not for economic, development or policy ends, but for what this story can tell us historically about the

¹¹⁵ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*. Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Athens: Ohio University, 2006).

¹¹⁶ Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, *Slavery and beyond: the making of men and Chikunda ethnic identities in the unstable world of south-central Africa, 1750-1920* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2004).

¹¹⁷ See William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa* (London: Rutledge, 1995); Lance Van Sittert, "Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c. 1850-1950," *The Journal of African History* 46 (2005): 269-291; William Kelleher Storey, *Guns, race, and power in colonial South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

development of hunting in relation to technologies of power and, in particular, in relation to racialized practices and institutions, as well as what hunting can tell us about the development of history itself. In this dissertation, I explore South African narratives of hunting to think the geographies and spaces of hunting in a way that highlights the interactions of race and development in hunting. This is exemplified in the work that hunting traditions, ritual, and storytelling do. By ‘work’, I mean the meaning and value that these activities inscribe into the practices of hunting – who gets to hunt, how a hunt is structured, what political/social/cultural identities are reinforced through these narratives. Oral history, tradition, and ritual play a role in perpetuating understandings of hunting in the daily lives of hunters and those working in the hunting industry. Narratives that speak broadly to who and what constitutes hunting in South Africa are generally authored by whites and extend back to the 19th century and big game hunting.

These ‘hunter-hero’ travelogue narratives of the late 19th century and early 20th century loom large in white mythology and literature: “the pages of nineteenth-century British imperial literature trumpeted hunting’s value as a training ground for soldiers, a handy transferable skill in the empire-building enterprise”.¹¹⁸ It is important to keep in mind Chamayou’s argument here about the close connections between ivory and trophy hunting, slave hunting, and racial power dynamics of early colonial enterprises in southern Africa.¹¹⁹ With improved weapon and transport technology, and the expansion of a colonial world, British capacity to hunt increased and encouraged travel and adventure. Yet it was also hunting, together with exploration etc. that made the project of empire possible, and, at the very least is integral to/accompanies colonial expansion,

¹¹⁸ Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*, 23.

¹¹⁹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 5 and 43-47.

settler colonialism, land appropriation. It is tied closely to the commando (a commando was a local militia, see *Achter die berg* chapter) in the early colonial Cape, which was used to hunt down ‘bushmen’. As part of expanded international adventure hunting, the values associated with civilized/savage, hunter/hunted, predator/prey, and their attendant racial connotations, traveled as well and took on international social/economic/political weight and currency. As a major feature of international sport at the time, hunting literature itself became a financial endeavor – combining pleasure and profit.¹²⁰

Hunting literature fuelled the images of the masculine, powerful, intrepid white hunter subjecting people and nature while at the same time promoting images of the frontier and indigenous populations as either subservient or non-existent. In the work that these narratives do to promote particular understandings of the history of hunting in South Africa and Africa more broadly, they are read here as sources for their power to render their authors as historians in their own right. This literature shapes perceptions of hunting, as well as in the establishment and transmission over time of particular ideas about race, nationalism, development and more.¹²¹ Such histories continue to be told and retold, and local hunters pass their own stories on as history, and in relation to those heroic tales, to show how their influence is still relevant today.¹²²

¹²⁰ Czech’s *An Annotated Bibliography* lists over 600 titles and is not an exhaustive list. See After Riders chapter. Selous and Roosevelt were good friends and exchanged stories of their hunting expeditions; see Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*, 25-27. Other influential novels around the turn of the 20th century were Jack London’s *Call of the Wild* (1903) and Edgar Rice Burroughs’s *Tarzan of the Apes* (1914).

¹²¹ Here I am drawing on work by historians such as Johannes Fabian, *Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996) and Jonathan Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011). Both books push the limits of thinking about what can constitute as authentic/authoritative historical knowledge.

¹²² An example of such work is Knut A. Carlson, *Transplanted: Being the Adventures of a Pioneer Forester in South Africa* (Pretoria: Minerva Drukpers, 1947). Additionally, a well-written article on the politics of hunting associations is Thomas Basset, “Dangerous Pursuits: Hunter Associations (Donzo Ton) and National Politics in Cote d’Ivoire,” *Africa* 73, no. 1 (2003): 1-30.

Hunting is primarily associated with rural land and the countryside – it is a non-urban activity and generally assumed to be a male activity.¹²³ Yet a large majority of the historical literature on the rural spaces of southern Africa focuses on the gendered, especially black female, aspects of the land. In the 1960s-1970s, anti-colonial scholars like Charles van Onselen and Colin Bundy were focused on male migrancy and were part of an early generation of white male scholars looking at African history with a serious scholarly approach.¹²⁴ Feminist social historians of Africa in the 1980s and afterward confronted the earlier lack of women as subjects and as scholars. This scholarship interrogated the political, and historical power structures related to gender in southern Africa and was critical to rethinking African relationships to land and the rural through what had previously been a dominant colonial notion of static, male centered, social systems in Africa and predominantly white male Western academic field. Work such as Belinda Bozzoli and Mmantho Nkotsae's *Women of Phokeng*, makes a strategic and important argument utilizing life histories of women to focus on the gendered nature of the urban-rural connections and migration.¹²⁵ Through attending to the struggles of women to form identities and households, they argued for an expanded understanding of

¹²³ The urban is, however, often the point of departure (physically, but also in terms of equipment, provisioning, point of view etc.) for hunting/hunters. The ensuing transition, between the city (modern, urban and 'civilized') and the rural ('wild'), that the hunter traverses is a process in need of investigation.

¹²⁴ Their work was a response to first colonial, then liberal histories and coming from a materialist/Marxist perspective with its emphasis on class, production/reproduction, division of labor etc. There were some early works in the 1980s that argued land dispossession, labor exploitation, and expansion of capitalist markets and production were the driving factors of agricultural decline, and the altering of social roles for both men and women, but gender as a category was not the emphasis of these studies. See, Colin Murray's *Families Divided: The Impact of Migrant Labor in Lesotho* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1981).

¹²⁵ Belinda Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa 1900-1983* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1991) Additionally, see Deborah James, *Gaining Ground? Rights and Property in South African Land Reform* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone, *Industrialisation and social change in South Africa: African class formation, culture, and consciousness, 1870-1930* (London: Longman, 1982); and Philip Bonner, "Desirable or undesirable Sotho Women?: Liquor, prostitution and the migration of Sotho women to the Rand, 1920-1945," in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, ed. Cherryl Walker (London: James Currey, 1990).

political and economic processes of urbanization and their significant and unique consequences for women in rural and urban areas.¹²⁶ While this emphasis on women and the rural was a needed intervention in the literature and rethought the relationship between the rural and the urban, there remains a lack of similar scholarly attention on the continuing role of the white (male and female) hunter and their influence with regard to organizing the land, the rural and its animal resources, and on the role of hunting and associated claims to land and its resources (in the colonial period) in structuring rural racial, gender and economic relations.¹²⁷

Social histories did not only pay attention to the lives of African women. Tim Keegan's *Facing the Storm* outlines four life histories of rural black men and their attempts to resist, contend with, and adapt to increased state regulation limiting their ability to own, rent, or work land for their own subsistence outside reserve areas.¹²⁸ Through a tracing of the highly racial and spatial regulation of Africans, Keegan lays out the categories of processes of state power that were grounded in paternalistic understandings of race, economy and development. Keegan's work, like van Onselen's detailed investigations of the individual rural African social and economic life of Kas Maine, emphasizes the diversity of experiences that frame African and white

¹²⁶ Another influential work here is Teresa Barnes, *"We women worked so hard": gender, urbanization, and social reproduction in colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1999).

¹²⁷ Aside from the gap identified here, this is a historiography that needs to be interrogated for its masculine inheritance of racial nationalism through the very analytical categories of gender and the land used to write history. See Gary Minkley, Ciraj Rassool, and Leslie Witz, "South Africa and the spectacle of public pasts: Heritage, public histories and post anti-apartheid South Africa," Paper presented at Heritage Disciplines symposium, University of the Western Cape, October 8–9, 2009. Gary Minkley circulated this for a seminar discussion in 2010.

¹²⁸ Tim Keegan, *Facing the Storm: Portraits of Black Lives in Rural South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press; 1988).

relationships to labor and land.¹²⁹ Oral histories, initially a methodological shift to counter the absence of these African voices in colonial archives, are now being critically reconsidered as a way to read for language and the politics of knowledge production, the transmission and translation of race, and presentation.¹³⁰ Brian Worsfold argues that van Onselen's failure to do this re-inscribes Kas Maine as a 'man of nature' still residing on the periphery of white disciplinary control, reinforcing the rural as a marginal black space.¹³¹ Isabel Hofmeyr's work incorporated both race and gender in her analysis of language, text, naming, and communication between white English women farmers and provides a way to infer and think through the historical construction of images and understandings of the white settler farmers and the changing relationships between English, Afrikaner, and African communities over the first half of the 20th century.¹³² Coupled with colonial, state and official policies and procedures aimed at controlling an African population, these practices resulted over time in the normative understandings of the rural as black and undeveloped. Here Hofmeyr makes perceptions of the rural and the English settler farm central to her analysis through what Lalu would call their 'imaginary structures', in texts.¹³³ While not thought of as a postcolonial critique of historical

¹²⁹ Charles van Onselen, *The Seed Is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985* (Hill and Wang, 1997)

¹³⁰ For framing analyses of language production I am drawing on Premesh Lalu, *The Deaths of Hintsa*; for transmission and translation of race see Suren Pillay's "Translating 'South Africa': Race, Colonialism and Challenges of Critical Thought after Apartheid," in *Re-Imagining the Social in South Africa: Critique, Theory and Post-apartheid Society*, eds. Heather Jacklin and Peter Vale, 235-267 (Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2009), and for presentation of archival sources Minkley and Rasool.

¹³¹ Brian Worsfold, "Eurocentrism in Hybridity: A Critique of Charles van Onselen's *The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, A South African Sharecropper 1894-1985*," *Journal of English Studies* II (2000): 174. A similar critique is also made in Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, "Orality, memory, and social history in South Africa," In *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, eds. Carli Coetzee and Sarah Nuttall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 89-99.

¹³² Hofmeyr, "Turning Region into Narrative," 6.

¹³³ Hofmeyr expands her analysis of the interaction between text and language in her *We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chieftdom* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993). Here she focuses on the politics of interaction literacy and oral

knowledge production at the time, Hofmeyr's work is significant in that it both looks back to primary source material for its processes of inscription and the power dynamics involved in their construction, and foreshadows the postcolonial critique of the discipline's need to be more attentive to these processes in order to avoid assuming normative categories of land and the rural as givens.

While this work addressed the important role of women and gender in rural agriculture, social reproduction and resistance, it remained focused on the capital relations and modes of production legacies of colonial rule and partly reinforced the concept of the 'rural' as one of black and female through the emphasis on women's rural activities. This was a consequence of political urgency in the scholarship and a result of the material political/economic/social conditions on the ground that these histories engaged. My dissertation builds on this to extend an analysis of racial capital's structuring of the private game farm as a practice of colonial and apartheid governance and history. Hunting remains a predominantly white male activity in South Africa and Andre Goodrich makes a compelling argument for the particular practices of biltong hunting as a performance of Afrikaner nationalist masculinity.¹³⁴ His gendered analysis is tied closely to the historical rendering of hunting through narrative and its redeployment (recurrence, accumulation) in the space of the hunting farm (as opposed to the game farm). His examination reveals that the production of gender as a historical category, and

history between Africans and Afrikaners. She also has a more in depth analysis of the role that gender plays in oral narrative and literature in mapping (physically and conceptually) the land in a rural setting through the spaces of the farm and the Bantustan.

¹³⁴ Goodrich. *Biltong Hunting*, ix.

the ways that certain assumptions around the roles of men and women along racial lines, continue to shape hunting as a practice and a historical category.¹³⁵

Race and Hunting

Again, Chamayou argues that the origins of racism are to be found in hunting, specifically in hunting's relationship to manhunting – a relationship established through connections between the ivory trade, slavery, war, and piracy, as well as through state relationships to its citizens and others, and foundational to the establishment of capitalist relations of production and accumulation.¹³⁶ Discussing “the fundamental problem of the dialectic of the hunter and the hunted as a political dialectic”, Chamayou asks, “how can one avoid remaining caught in the simple inversion of the relationship of predation, and instead move beyond hunting itself.”¹³⁷ I draw on Chamayou's argument not just as a call to revisit a narrative of anti-colonial/anti-apartheid resistance using hunting in the Waterberg to fill a gap in the literature. Instead, I see Chamayou's question about moving beyond hunting as a call for a critical inquiry into the central role of the categories and

¹³⁵ This dissertation does not engage in a deep discussion of gender through hunting, though, and Goodrich's work is exemplary here, this is a very rich area for research and analysis that I will take up in future work. In the introduction to their edited volume, Patricia Hayes, Wendy Woodward and Gary Minkley argue that it is no longer sufficient to fill gaps in the history of gender, but that, instead, ‘reading for silences’ and their production can help to complicate colonial archives and push for new questions about how gender, as a category, is ‘voiced’ and written. Patricia Hayes, Wendy Woodward and Gary Minkley eds. *Deep hiStories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (New York: Rodopi, 2002), xxxi. Further, The need for this type of analysis is directly related to the recent publication of popular literature books about land, nature and hunting in the Waterberg that claim certain perspectives of authority about the history of the area. See, Lex Rodger, *Waterberg: Vintage Waterberg and Timeless Waterberg* (Johannesburg: Rodger Family, 2010); Stephanie Rohrbach, *Healing Rhinos and other souls: The Extraordinary Fortunes of a Bushveld Vet* (Privately published, 2013); and Elizabeth Hunter ed. *Pioneers of the Waterberg – a Photographic Journey* (Lephalale: Privately published, 2010). See Imagining Waterberg chapter.

¹³⁶ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 5 and 43. Again, it is important to build from the social history historiography above where these connections are explored. The shift I make is to look at the specific activities and technologies of hunting as practices founded in racism and subsequent racial reorderings of the southern African landscape.

¹³⁷ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 76.

practices of hunting as they relate to race and other forms of social differentiation that, in this project, serve as a lens for which the Waterberg forms the/a particularly apposite framework, ground of inquiry, case study. To revisit Balibar, Hall, and Soske from above, I trace the unstable concepts and signifiers of race at work in hunting in the Waterberg and how they interact and differ between English, Afrikaner, Tswana and Pedi people. The practices of racial difference were organized and solidified through hunting animals and the space of the farm. In part this was achieved through state practices, to draw from Chamayou, of tracking and capture of people along racial lines in hunting law and associated policies that accumulated over time. These accumulations continue to establish and maintain racial categories and inequalities in South Africa. My tracking of this genealogy or archaeology of 'hunting,' 'the hunt,' and 'the hunter' is a critical reading of race through the history of hunting as a way to think race and racism differently in South Africa.

In South Africa these questions may seem to be most significant at the height of apartheid and in the white/non-white divides that are most often recalled. However, within the geographic and across the temporal scope of this project, it is important to understand that hunting in the Waterberg was not always just a white/non-white relationship of unequal power, and that race relations established through hunting have both deep historical roots and critical relevance to the present. This history of hunting is about the intersections between Afrikaner, British, Tswana and Pedi, history, memory, and identity. This includes differences in approaches to the environment, hunting, wild life, nature, human character etc. across the English/Afrikaner cultural and political divide (see Bunn below). This conceptual distance within whiteness is part of the work of

hunting narratives and how narrative ‘educates one’s attention’ toward the social relations of the world.¹³⁸ The cultural importance of narrative and storytelling in Afrikaner nationalism today finds its footing in the accumulated heritage of hunting narratives, the symbolism of the *voortrekkers* and the Great Trek (mid-1800s) and the South African War (1899-1902).¹³⁹ While both play on the civilized/savage racial dichotomy toward black Africans, the Afrikaner nationalist masculinity that Goodrich points to is separate from the English ‘sport’ hunting where English viewed Boers as unsportsmanlike and Boers felt the English sport was wasteful and an elite metropolitan practice.¹⁴⁰ This British/Boer distinction is a contested terrain of ‘sport’, race, ethnicity, and culture that has particular class dimensions that are often bifurcated along rural/urban and landowner/non-landowner lines. Game preservation and wildlife management are also sites of contestation, but at the same time provide common cause between English and Afrikaners in relation to the black African participation.¹⁴¹ David Bunn discusses how photography in the Kruger National Park (KNP), similar to the role of literature in Hofmeyr’s *Waterberg*, frames black Africans as part of the land in a way that is static, in accordance with the larger static notions of a harmonious Eden in the park as a space and

¹³⁸ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 158. I discuss this notion of conceptual distance (and difference) through the geography and the imagining of the Waterberg in the *Securing Separations* chapter.

¹³⁹ Goodrich uses the example of the prolific writing of P.J. Schoeman from the 1930s through the 1980s, who utilized romantic notions of the *voortrekkers* and the *bittereinders* as cultural heritage. Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 114.

¹⁴⁰ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 115.

¹⁴¹ Jane Carruthers emphasizes the ‘fraternal relations’ between English and Afrikaners in this regard. Jane Carruthers, “Dissecting the Myth: Paul Kruger and the Kruger National Park,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, no. 2 (June 1994): 279. Cited in Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 118. David Bunn notes similar differences as Goodrich along the lines of tourism to Kruger National Park, but his argument makes possible broader questions about the type of political, economic, and literary practices that were deployed to shape social perceptions and interest in particular experiences of the KNP as an African landscape. David Bunn, “An Unnatural State: Tourism, Water, and Wildlife Photography in the Early Kruger National Park” in *Social History & African Environments*, eds. William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor, 199-220 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003).

a system.¹⁴² The African KNP gatekeeper (guard at the entrance gates that allows vehicles in and out) emphasizes this particular English, and later, though differently, Afrikaner, perception and image of Africans and their place in the landscape as merely embodied place holders for white-driven stewardship or, more broadly, political/economic policies.¹⁴³ Bunn differentiates the experience/relationship of Afrikaner and British relations to the environment/hunt/conservation as understudied and disregarded. In the *Achter die berg* chapter, I begin to address how this complex relationship between ethnic, cultural and class differences (between Afrikaner and British) begins to give way to more clearly demarcated racial divisions through the hardening lines drawn around hunting in the changing language of the law.

As Bunn's work notes, the role of the hunter/guide in the early park and their knowledge of game patterns and waterhole locations held both social (status) and economic (tourist revenue) value for the park administrators.¹⁴⁴ It is knowledge, not the person who is the source of the knowledge that is appropriated into the production and dissemination of 'official' park or state knowledge.¹⁴⁵ This exclusion is the moment/space where a focus on hunting and its relationship to technologies of power/rule

¹⁴² Bunn, "An Unnatural State," 199-202.

¹⁴³ There is an interesting visual correlation here, in place and costume/uniform, with Fred Cooper's African gatekeeper state. John Comaroff argued the increasing white control of land this process was marked by increased concern over state regulations of relationships between whites, the governing the development of black African populations, mediating struggles over land, labor, property and rights, as well as state/national economic concerns that protected and promoted white settlers/farmers and their interests. (John Comaroff, "Governmentality, Materiality, Legality, Modernity: On the Colonial State in Africa," in *African Modernities*, eds. Jan-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst & Heike Schmidt (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), 110-111.) This is what Frederick Cooper identifies the 'gatekeeper state'. About the Apartheid government in South Africa Cooper states, "This meant not just the extension of market relations – which have spread across the continent – but the monopoly of usable land and productive resources in the hands of a small number of property owners, their acting together in defense of property and competitively toward the accumulation of profits. In South Africa, a white elite's control of land was mediated by the allocation of a small portion of land as "reserves" for Africans not actually at work". Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 193.

¹⁴⁴ Bunn, "An Unnatural State," 202.

¹⁴⁵ On exile and exclusion as foundational ideas of hunting, see Chamayou, 2.

opens up new ways to investigate the subjection of black African knowledge to a colonial ‘normative’ way of knowing.¹⁴⁶ I uncover these moments, their connectivity, divergences, and contestations across hunting’s discourses to understand the ways that race and the problems of knowledge production originate in and continue to mark hunting practices.

The cultural and racial underpinnings of the politics of hunting as sport, economy, and environmental conservation are critical to understanding more broadly the work(ings) of race in South Africa. Scholars do acknowledge the cultural and racial divides that mark hunting in South Africa, but primarily in terms of racial redress through statistical breakdowns in hunting geographies and employment figures.¹⁴⁷ I address the relationship between cultural and racial categories that inform hunting and that, following Chamayou, may have *originated* in hunting relationships to explore their intersections with concepts of history and development.¹⁴⁸ Such relationships in the Waterberg move vertically (from large international organizations to family values) and horizontally (from person to person, community to community, organization to organization, and between the individual and community and its institutions) and primarily along racial/cultural lines. Discussion and debate takes the form of preservation, protection, and conservation of land, animals and opportunity, but how race is constituted through social aspects and aesthetics of hunting has yet to be carefully examined. In the Waterberg race is perhaps still the most significant organizing principle of social and economic power relations.

¹⁴⁶ See Lalu’s argument above.

¹⁴⁷ Jane Carruthers, “Wilding the farm or farming the wild,” 176.

¹⁴⁸ David McDermott Hughes’s work engages with race and culture as it relates to conservation land, arguing that that whites have practiced denial and avoidance of racial prejudice and antagonism through focusing/differing their identity efforts around landscape – environment, nature. This approach will provide a starting point for thinking about such relations in the hunting industry. David McDermott Hughes, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape, and the Problem of Belonging* (New York: Pallgrave MacMillan, 2010).

This means investigating the deferral of the politics of race for the politics of the conservation and landscapes of hunting,¹⁴⁹ an iteration of Goldberg's 'born again racism'¹⁵⁰ as a language of deferral (see above).

Geographically, the space of the hunting farm and those connected to it (nearby towns, adjacent black African communities, national parks, etc.) was physically constructed (through fencing), legally supported, and kept in place as a white owned space that was operated and dependent on black labor and expertise (guiding, tracking, hauling, skinning, processing, cooking, serving, maintenance). I explore archival records for the clues to understanding the logics of race regarding notions of economic gain, environmental caretaking/custody/trusteeship, national heritage, and a particular European/American/South Africa concept of masculinity associated with the hunt.¹⁵¹ The farm as an economic and social unit of analysis is investigated for the way that it continues to protect white property, private interest and wealth accumulation for whites while at the same time promoting, unquestioningly, the 'cultural' value of black African heritage as labor and as a source of culture, identity and heritage, but not translating this to land ownership or wealth accumulation particularly pertinent to Southern African post-colonial debates about land claims, land appropriation, recently back in the news.¹⁵² This also enables an investigation of the contested racial aspects that inhere in the bifurcation of private/community interests. There are racial particularities to the 'spectatorship' of a

¹⁴⁹ The notion of deferral of politics of race to landscapes comes from Hughes, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe*, xii.

¹⁵⁰ Goldberg, *The Threat of Race*, 23.

¹⁵¹ Official correspondence, policy, and legislation regarding hunting in the Waterberg, and more broadly the Transvaal/Limpopo Province, as well as nationally in South Africa serve as the central archive for my analysis in laying out these practices of inscribing race into hunting through governance. Goodrich's work is central to understanding the closer relationship of masculinity and hunting. Despite being focused on Afrikaner belonging, he opens the possibility for thinking masculinity across race and class lines.

¹⁵² JoAnn McGregor and Lyn Schumaker, "Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32, no. 4, (December 2006): 649-665.

safari and hunt that also render black Africans and culture as spectacles.¹⁵³ These particularities are important because while the frame of ‘imaginaries’ is useful, it cannot be seen to be all encompassing for South Africa, or even for the sites of the farms in the Waterberg.¹⁵⁴

Hunting and Sustainable Development

In what ways does the linking of hunting with neoliberal understandings of sustainable development repeat and reinscribe colonial practices of social/economic/racial inequality in the Waterberg?

This dissertation takes a critical historical approach to the racial language of hunting and its connection to sustainable development, a key concept heavily contested in post-apartheid thinking about the environment and the industries of hunting and tourism. The continued conflict between indigenous African, Afrikaner and international hunters over hunting resources, in which each group works to sustain its particular vision of hunting, serves as an opening to investigate whose notions of sustainability, both human, animal and environmental, are being sustained, taken seriously, supported, and nurtured and for what purpose. Development as a term itself, and its association with normative

¹⁵³ Bunn, “An Unnatural State,” 213-214. See my discussion of Wels’ photographs and the digital marketing of safari and wilderness in the Blood Lines chapter.

¹⁵⁴ George Lipsitz, *How Racism Takes Place* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011) and Duncan Brown, “National Belonging and Cultural Difference: South Africa and the Global Imaginary,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 4 (Dec., 2001): 757-769. Lipsitz’s argues that the value of structural, economic, material, and social differences are articulated in white and black spatial imaginaries. However, I approach this with Brown’s caution to not homogenize an ‘imagined community’ to understand the relationship between the Waterberg District and broader hunting practices and history in South Africa. The problem with aligning too carefully with an ‘imaginary’ is that the assumptions of race that are attempting to be critiqued can potentially begin to slip back in to the discussion and perpetuate the inequalities of representation that are being interrogated.

categories of progress, social change, and heritage is carefully examined.¹⁵⁵ The perception is that the large majority of people in the hunting industry in South Africa (of all races and genders) understand hunting to be an essential development project for the future of certain rural regions of the country.¹⁵⁶ Yet in many areas, development goals toward bridging racial inequality gaps in income, wealth, basic resources, education, and health are not being achieved, despite development interventions.¹⁵⁷ International development studies literature has flourished since the 1980s and has tried to grapple with conservation and wildlife management as a site for development interventions.¹⁵⁸ Yet often what this literature posits as solutions to its critique of development is a better, more efficient system of development that will produce the conditions for equality (with the norm for equality established as white, middle class, and democratic).¹⁵⁹ In contrast to this literature in South Africa, Gary Minkley argues

¹⁵⁵ See Brown "National Belonging and Cultural Difference," as well as Minkley and Rassool, 89-99; Sarah Nuttall, "Telling 'free' stories? Memory and democracy in South African autobiography since 1994," 76-88; and Steven Robins, "Silence in my father's house: memory, nationalism, and narratives of the body," 120-140 – all found in Coetzee and Nuttall, *Negotiating the Past*.

¹⁵⁶ The justifications range from economic (Thomas' *Wildly Successful*), to community development (Lyon et. al.), to wildlife conservation and preservation (African Indaba). Public commentary into the ethics and benefits of hunting can become quite heated (Marcus Janseen, "In Defense of Trophy Hunting: Stupidity/Emotion, Not Hunting, Greatest Threat to African Game," <http://clashdaily.com/2014/06/defense-trophy-hunting-stupidityemotion-hunting-greatest-threat-african-game/>)

¹⁵⁷ In the Securing Separation chapter I use the recent Lyon et. al. study on sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve as the frame for this discussion. Lyon et. al., "Are we any closer to sustainable development?"

¹⁵⁸ Robert Harms, *Games Against Nature: An Eco-Cultural History of the Nunu of Equatorial Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 250. Harms' call to integrate history and natural sciences made in the late 1980s at a key moment in the rise of environmental history as a field of study demonstrated the need to broaden multidisciplinary collaboration and work to better understand the complexities of changes in relationship of people to the land in Africa. Related works on the environment and conservation include David Anderson and Richard Grove, eds., *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); David Hulme and Marshall Murphree, eds., *African Wildlife and Livelihoods: The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001); David A. McDonald, ed., *Environmental Justice in South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002).

¹⁵⁹ See David McDermott Hughes, *From Enslavement to Environmentalism: Politics On a Southern African Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Donald Worster, "World Without Borders: The Internationalization of Environmental History," *Environmental Review* 6 (1982): 8-13; Roderick Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa*

[t]o re-write South African racial and capitalist modernity from within and through the sign — the real historical sign of this black/migrant worker — as opposed to seeking alternative, vernacular and multiple modernities that equally erase these working-class histories and struggles, remains a profound and on-going challenge.¹⁶⁰

Attention here needs to be paid to the logic of market capital, a logic that is racially and historically motivated, that drives such development practices in addition to the discourses in the service of policy-making, strategy and nationalism, and how the market continues to shape hunting in the Waterberg in unequal ways.¹⁶¹ Deeply racialized, differentiated notions of land and the rural loom large in assumptions and understandings around hunting and sustainable development.

In southern Africa, recent studies show that there is an increase in land use and economic productivity in the area of wildlife and game management in the forms of hunting and tourism on a national level.¹⁶² The benefits of technical interventions in

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Also, it is important to recall Pillay's argument about race and knowledge production here.

¹⁶⁰ Gary Minkley, "Legacies of Struggle: Martin Legassick and the Re-Imagining of South African History," *South African Historical Journal* 56, no. 1 (2006): 8. Minkley is commenting on Legassick's emphasis on the need to critique liberalism in its historical practice — one that does not question the categories of liberal democracy or capitalism. Legassick's work stands as an early call for what is now considered a postcolonial critique — of neo-liberal capitalism, development, and history. This difficulty of engaging the black migrant workers of hunting in the Waterberg is addressed below in the Methodology. I engage with Minkley's sign of the black/migrant worker in the Blood Lines chapter.

¹⁶¹ Here I put Alex de Waal's critique of humanitarianism into a conversation with the critique of neoliberal paternalism offered by Fording et. al. in *Disciplining the Poor* that (in a United States context) highlights the social consequences of market penetration into state efforts to combat inequality along racial lines. *Disciplining the Poor* is an empirical study that is a great example of thinking through the theoretical work that Baucom and Scott find necessary to think differently about the intersections of history and development. Alex De Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa* (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1997); Richard C. Fording, Sanford F. Schram, and Joe Soss, *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

¹⁶² Carruthers, "Wilding the farm or farming the wild," 160-161; see also Ken Ferguson and John Hanks, "Fencing Impacts: A review of the environmental social and economic impacts of game and veterinary fencing in Africa with particular reference to the Great Limpopo and Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Areas," (University of Pretoria: Mammal Research Institute, 2010); Sue Mossman and Archie Mossman, "Wildlife Utilization and Game Ranching: Report on a study of recent progress in this field in Southern Africa," (Morges, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), 1976); Jessica Musengezi, "Wildlife Utilization on Private Land: Understanding The Economics of Game Ranching in South Africa," PhD Dissertation, (University of Florida, 2010).

commercial wildlife management in southern Africa have been put forward since the late 19th century by white settlers, and more recently by many white-dominated hunting organizations as well as by the black dominated post-apartheid/post-independence governments, as an efficient and productive use of land and resources in southern Africa.¹⁶³ Environmentally, it is argued that the privatization of land has demonstrated the benefits to increasing biodiversity and populations of animals.¹⁶⁴ Enclosed private farms allow for more wild animal diversity. This wildlife utilizes a wider spectrum of grazing plant resources than herds of cattle or sheep, which allows for less overgrazing and sustained growth of flora. There is also a diminished pressure on grasses and bush vegetation because non-domestic wildlife is not ‘herded’ around plots in large compact groups, which reduces trampling.¹⁶⁵ However, the cost of such technical management in terms of acquiring land, inputs¹⁶⁶, and animals is still quite high, often funded by established hunter associations, and built on private land whose title through early enclosure laws and apartheid removals is now legally often white owned (though contested formally and legally in the SA Land Court, and informally and increasingly violently, as evidenced in the large number of “farm murders”). These long established spatial structures of settler colonialism and regulation of white farming have produced a white controlled pastoral economy that is increasingly constituted around game and wildlife.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Jane Carruthers, “Wilding the farm or farming the wild,” 160-181.

¹⁶⁴ Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation*, 386-387.

¹⁶⁵ Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation*, 386-387.

¹⁶⁶ Often this is water infrastructure in the forms of dams and reservoirs. See Hughes, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe*, xiii-xiv.

¹⁶⁷ Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation*, 26.

At present, there remains an overarching emphasis on development as an effort to restructure practices in order to reverse the environmental ‘degradation’ taking place that is harmful to economic production. The late 20th century degradation narrative has been contested, though not in terms of the history of hunting.¹⁶⁸ It is important to note that the late 19th century arguments around the depletion of game and subsequent need for preservation was a central moment in the constitution of degradation narratives in southern Africa.¹⁶⁹ The origins of development logics in hunting emerge alongside capitalism at this time. Still today they are mobilized into the neoliberal development logics of the late 20th century and early 21st century hunting industry whose environment has been the subject of much of southern African history.¹⁷⁰

The emergence of the environmental history field in the 1970s and 1980s focused on the rural as the central site of African resistance struggles and agency over colonial practices of dispossession.¹⁷¹ Fierce academic debate in the field was initially focused on defining transitions to capitalism along racial lines and the future of agrarian capitalism.¹⁷² Over time the field of African environmental history expanded to integrate understandings about the violent and contested relationships between displacement,

¹⁶⁸ Henrietta Moore and Megan Vaughan take a historical look at citimene agriculture systems and contested views of environmental degradations in Northern Zambia that place white scientific agricultural development knowledge as superior to black African agriculture knowledge. It is an excellent work that points to the need to integrate histories of agriculture, conservation, and local livelihoods. Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition, and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (Heinemann: Portsmouth, 1994).

¹⁶⁹ Hughes, *From Enslavement to Environmentalism*, 5 and Nancy Jacobs. *Environment, Power, and Injustice*, 18-19. Additionally, see works by William Beinart and Jane Carruthers previously cited.

¹⁷⁰ Beinart *The Rise of Conservation*, 17-27.

¹⁷¹ William Beinart and Colin Bundy, *Hidden struggles in rural South Africa: politics & popular movements in the Transkei & Eastern Cape, 1890-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

¹⁷² Helen Bradford, “Highways, byways and culs-de-sacs: the transition to agrarian capitalism in revisionist South African history.” *Radical History Review* 46, no. 7 (1990): 59. This essay is part of the debate that Pillay cites as informing present racial politics of the university and the discipline in southern Africa.

dispossession, colonial science, agriculture, livestock, and degradation concerns, and corresponding conservation practices.¹⁷³

A central subfield in environmental scholarship investigates late 19th and early 20th century travelogues (see above) and colonial documents to understand the ways that the ‘myth of wild Africa’ was established and to dispel them.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, David Anderson and Richard Grove argue that the conservation/preservation motive was driven by a fear of ‘losing Eden’.¹⁷⁵ The naming of Africa as ‘Eden’ in efforts to conserve and preserve acts to conceptually freeze Africa in a static moment of ‘pre-civilization’, before the ‘knowledge’ that marks ‘civilization’. In a detailed look at the process that led to the establishment of Kruger National Park, Jane Carruthers walks through the letters, diaries, government debates, mining and game reserve commission reports, game association meeting minutes, administrator reports and more.¹⁷⁶ Her analysis of the white settler and colonial sentiment that shaped these competing interests is evidence of her understanding of such sources as negotiated documents, and thus of a negotiated and constructed ‘Eden’.¹⁷⁷ Additionally, scholars have emphasized how African knowledge about the

¹⁷³ William Beinart’s work continues to be central to environmental history in southern Africa. His *The Rise of Conservation* is a broad synthesis of these major themes of previous research.

¹⁷⁴ Jonathan Adams and Thomas O. McShane, *The Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation Without Illusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). The postcolonial approach to the archive by scholars such as Ann Stoler and Cheryl McEwan will be central to moving this critique forward.

¹⁷⁵ Anderson and Grove, *Conservation in Africa*, Introduction. This speaks to colonial fears of ‘loss’ of a particular knowledge system and to a language of control over land and people that forms the foundation of how rural Africa is represented. Read Pillay’s use of Guha and Mudimbe here.

¹⁷⁶ Jane Carruthers, “Creating a National Park, 1910-1926,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989): 188-216. She makes similar arguments about the southern African region and the negotiated perspectives on creation and management of parks. See particularly Jane Carruthers, “Changing Perspectives on Wildlife in Southern Africa C.1840 to C.1914,” *Society & Animals* 13, no. 3 (2005): 183-200; and her “Conservation and Wildlife Management in Southern African National Parks 1930s-1960s,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 41 (2008): 203-236. I engage closely with Carruthers’ *Game Protection in the Transvaal 1846 to 1926* (Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1995) in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

¹⁷⁷ Roderick Neumann, in *Imposing Wilderness*, argues these sentiments were informed by colonial scientific understandings of preservation that were closely linked to colonial political and economic needs.

environment and its management was viewed as unscientific, as the cause of degradation, and as in need of reform, enclosure, and management by the colonial state.¹⁷⁸

Colonial practices of displacement and demarcating boundaries for control of agriculture, livestock and environment have led to a particular understanding of ‘native’ and colonial land/space. Important scholarship has drawn out how this was achieved in South Africa through ‘betterment’ schemes on the grounds that white settlers were the proper stewards of the land and sought to ‘stabilize’ African agriculture in the rural areas.¹⁷⁹ Similar effects of partial state control and privatization of land, water and cattle in Botswana have been explored for intensifying economic inequality, particularly among rural Africans.¹⁸⁰ Scholarship has also detailed southern African practices of resistance, coping and reorganizing around colonial control. In Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), as Luise White argues, there was a need to focus on African oral histories, rumor, and the ways they engaged with the tropes of scientific and medical language used to describe Africa, its land, and its people in order to offer alternative narratives of colonial intervention.¹⁸¹ In Zimbabwe, the politics of such intervention are still being violently contested in efforts to manage wildlife populations and disease through re-distribution of land and social

¹⁷⁸ Jocelyn Alexander, *The unsettled land: state-making & the politics of land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006); and Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*.

¹⁷⁹ Minkley and Westaway, “The Application of Rural Restitution”. See also William Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation*, xvi-xvii, and 383. He outlines how, beginning in the 1930s and extending through the 20th century, betterment schemes were a long process of forced villagisation of scattered African settlements through fencing of communal lands for livestock rotation, separating arable land from residential and grazing land. Their justification was supported through a tradition of 19th century biological sciences and conservationist ideas of soil and vegetation preservation was intended to be environmentally conscious as well as racially partitioning.

¹⁸⁰ Pauline Peters. *Dividing the Commons: Politics, Policy, and Culture in Botswana* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994).

¹⁸¹ Luise White, “Tsetse Visions: Narratives of Blood and Bugs in Colonial Northern Rhodesia, 1931–1939,” *Journal of African History* 36, no. 2 (1995): 219–245. Her work examines the interaction of popular culture, rumor and imperial science in the construction of notions of agriculture and wilderness.

programs.¹⁸² While these works detail the consequences of violent and forced practices of enclosing Africans and their land, they remain focused on arguing for degrees of agricultural and livestock development and economic ‘progress’ in rural African areas due to the very real material concerns that these issues have for people and their livelihoods.

Hughes reverts to a degradation argument in order to make the case for technical intervention, primarily because he is arguing that black actors stand to benefit from this intervention as much as whites have. However, if the politicization of land in Zimbabwe that Hughes outlines has led to an archetypal view of the disorganization and displacement that has followed,¹⁸³ there needs to be a broader look at the space of development practice overall to understand how the conservation industry, both at the private level and at the national government level, approaches its goals with regard to making the anti-degradation (conservation/preservation) argument shift from fortress conservation (removing people from conservation land) to community-based conservation (incorporating people into conservation land),¹⁸⁴ also referred to as ‘community conservation’ models.¹⁸⁵ Institutional and state efforts at local community inclusion, while insisting on maintaining the privilege of scientific structures of intervention, will, according to Alex de Waal’s analysis of humanitarian intervention, lead to a situation where control is in the hands of NGOs and external private

¹⁸² Jocelyn Alexander and JoAnn McGregor, “Wildlife and Politics: CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe,” *Development and Change* 31, no. 3 (2000): 605–27.

¹⁸³ Hughes *Whiteness in Zimbabwe*, 130–131. Hughes argues that the collapse of agriculture and eco-tourism in the late 1990s and early 2000s is a result of failed land reform. For a detailed analysis of the consequences of the CAMPFIRE land reform and its relationship to white settler driven conservation and wildlife management development in Zimbabwe see Per Zachrisson, *Hunting for Development: People, Land and Wildlife in southern Zimbabwe* (Goteborg University, 2004).

¹⁸⁴ Dan Brockington, *Fortress Conservation* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002).

¹⁸⁵ Hughes *From Enslavement to Environmentalism*, 12.

investors.¹⁸⁶ Their responsibility and accountability is not enforced by a weak state, and the social costs of sustaining conservation projects falls on the local African community¹⁸⁷, such as the Tonga of Lake Kariba, whose voice is not heard.¹⁸⁸ Or, if the local black African voice is heard, it is to be dismissed as non-scientific and insufficiently suited to the management capabilities necessary for stewardship according to the particular dominant understandings of conservation and wildlife management that have developed over the last century and a half: a stewardship that is coded white through the long history of white settlement discourse and practice aimed at taming a wild Africa.¹⁸⁹

The postcolonial shift being made in rethinking the development of the environment, land and the rural takes a more critical look at the racial underpinnings of political, cultural, and environmental boundaries through a critical investigation of the sources and archives. I analyze hunting in the Waterberg as it sits amid these discourses (conceptually and geographically). Scholars are also addressing the concerns over contemporary environmental crises and in the racial and gendered language and politics associated with the land and the rural in ‘sustainable development’.¹⁹⁰ David McDermott

¹⁸⁶ Recalling Goldberg’s “born again racism” from above, it is important to trace the ways the government has had to cede control of major issues such as its duty to the people (humanitarian aid) and the care of the environment, to NGO’s and private investors. This is driven through weaknesses of the postcolonial African government/state. In the hunting industry, this results in a continued control of land and resources along the racial divides of apartheid, continuing to shape the Waterberg region in unequal ways.

¹⁸⁷ See De Waal, *Famine Crimes*.

¹⁸⁸ Hughes *Whiteness in Zimbabwe*, 66-69. Hughes discusses the primarily white Wildlife Society of Zimbabwe as focusing technical intervention for ecological change on saving white “leisure-pleasure”, and focused less on the agricultural impacts of white vs. black farming. Additionally, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) office in Harare, despite wanting to focus on shifting from ‘fortress conservation’ to community-based approaches (see Brockington from above) to include local Tonga communities, the their marketing campaign showed Lake Kariba as *marred* by Tonga areas, thus reinforcing black African environments as spaces of degradation.

¹⁸⁹ Adams and McShane, *The Myth of Wild Africa*, 6.; Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation*, 383; Beinart and Coates *Environment and History*; and Jacob Tropp, “Dogs, Poisoning, and the Meaning of Colonial Intervention in the Transkei,” *South Africa Journal of African History* 43 (2002): 451-472.

¹⁹⁰ These concerns can be read as a ‘repeating and intensifying’, to draw on Baucom, of the legacies of colonial practices, policies and language concerned with controlling the environment by/with/for Africans.

Hughes argues for a reconceptualization of enclosure through reconsidering the notion of opening/closing the ‘frontier’.¹⁹¹ The contribution that he makes to the understanding of colonial projects, and their legacies, of enclosing land through its productive use is that the concept of the frontier (land available to be controlled, or lacking ‘proper’ European control and management) can be both closed and reopened.¹⁹² On the one hand, frontier (rural) spaces are ‘re-opening’ through ‘sustainable development’ opportunity for economic benefit and conservation (yet those benefiting from capitalist investment are primarily thought to be white), while on the other hand those marginalized by capitalist processes (primarily thought of as black) see this as creating new enclosures – new colonization of ‘reopened’ frontiers.¹⁹³ By interrogating the notion of the ‘frontier’ and its association with the racial politics of development practices, Hughes emphasizes that reform through ‘sustainable development’ or ‘humanitarian intervention’ cannot be just a quantitative shift in racial re-mapping of the environment through development practices, but must integrate historical understandings of the processes that produced policies, practices and expectations for African use and relationships with land.¹⁹⁴ This has significance for this work in its urgent political position in the Waterberg, and also in

¹⁹¹ Hughes, *From Enslavement to Environmentalism*. Contesting the construction of the category of a closed ‘frontier’ is a significant shift from the work of scholars such as Beinart’s or Peters’ who histories only went as far as detailing the processes of ‘closing’ the frontier.

¹⁹² Hughes, *From Enslavement to Environmentalism*, 12-13. Land becomes mapped and counter-mapped (contested) on many levels for the Vhimba and Gogoi, physically through fencing and on paper through map making.

¹⁹³ Hughes, *From Enslavement to Environmentalism*, 13. Hughes is here making an argument about race and development practice that is similar to Pillay’s argument about race and the university. Similarly, Emannuel Kreike’s *Re-Creating Eden: Land Use, Environment and Society in Southern Angola and Northern Namibia* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2004) contests the environmental degradation narrative as a simple bettering/declining (read as white/black) dichotomy and explores the entangled relationships between environment, nature, culture, and notions of ‘wilderness’ and ‘civilization’. I discuss the notion of the ‘hunting frontier’ in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

¹⁹⁴ For a strong critique of the structural practices and consequences of Western humanitarian development, see Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes*.

terms of how to ask questions around current debates over hunting in the Waterberg, as well as the specific ways histories of hunting are called upon to support these debates.

Conclusion

Hunting is both an originary practice of history, as well as practice whose intellectual work demands a continued critique of its deployment in disciplining bodies in particular ways. For the purposes of this dissertation the historical question becomes how does an analysis of hunting as practice and narration lay bare the fraught racial (and class and gendered) underpinnings of social inequality in South Africa? It opens questions for consideration of the *claims* to hunting as heritage, as development, that draw on a particular historical archive of hunting to justify particular practices of organizing land, people, animals, and resources. If we weave together the threads of Hofmeyr's staging of the Waterberg as a mythical frontier of hunting grounds and ivory trade; Chamayou's assertion that hunting constitutes race; and couple it with Ginzburg's argument of hunting as the origin of narrative, then we have in the Waterberg a particularly stark example of narration and practice that tracks processes of racial organization through the narration of hunting – processes taking place in connection to the political and economic transformation of the Transvaal in the second half of the 19th century and the 'new South Africa' of the early 20th century. Via Baucom's recurring accumulation of history and Guha's discourse analysis, the connections between hunting narratives, practices and capital become apparent in their overlap and interplay. Hunting figures the co-presence of Foucault's three forms of power, as outlined in Chamayou: The figure of the hunter as sovereign power (Nimrod) over who lives and dies (animals and people/slaves/poachers

alike) is also figured as disciplinary power in the regulation and ordering of private farms and reserves via hunting policy that control access and enclosure. Further, biopower is exemplified in this governance with the hunter as conservator/preserver of the proper ordering of things in the hunt. What marks a significant shift for Chamayou is the colonial practices of domination and the modern nation-state's exercise of surveillance and capture over its citizens.¹⁹⁵ Apartheid produced these schematic bodies through what Chamayou calls chronogeography ('capturing trails') and patterned normative behaviors such that, "[r]egular routes progressively thicken on the screen, like paths frequently taken by a flock dig their furrows in the grass of a field."¹⁹⁶ Via the historical accumulation of game laws grafted together with apartheid laws governing social movement and contact (Pass Laws, Immorality Act, Land Act, Population Registration Act, Fencing Act, Suppression of Communism Act, Terrorism Act, etc.) – Benjamin's angel of history – racial difference acquired a discursive thickness. In the hunting farm, this is also produced in thick physical marks in the landscape – game fencing cutting across footpaths used by black Africans, cattle, and game for generations – with new furrows made, or 'thickened', by 4x4 vehicles along the fence and safari track. The ordering of these discourses and spaces also made it possible to spot aberrations and discrepancies to 'acquire targets', or "[a]nother way to put it is that, in such regimes of

¹⁹⁵ Chamayou's chapter titles clearly mark this genealogy – The Hunt for Bipedal Cattle; Nimrod, or Cynegetic Sovereignty; Diseased Sheep and Wolf-Men; Hunting Indians; Hunting Black Skins; The Dialectic of the Hunter and the Hunted; Hunting the Poor; Police Hunts; The Hunting Pack and Lynching; Hunting Foreigners; Hunting Jews; Hunting Illegals. From these headings it is clear that Chamayou draws on Foucault's concepts of biopower, biopolitics, and governmentality to frame the exercise of power as a manhunt.

¹⁹⁶ Grégoire Chamayou, "Patterns of Life: A Very Short History of Schematic Bodies," *The Funambulist Papers* 57 (December 4, 2014). https://thefunambulist.net/history/the-funambulist-papers-57-schematic-bodies-notes-on-a-patterns-genealogy-by-gregoire-chamayou#_ftn52.

knowledge and power, a potential target appears fundamentally as a drift [*une dérive*].”¹⁹⁷

What are more difficult to spot than the aberration are the bottom layers of these thickened lines in text and the land. I argue that for hunting, these are highly racialized and remain the foundation on which hunting operates.

¹⁹⁷ Chamayou, “Patterns of Life”.

Methodology

It has become clear through the development of this project that a careful and detailed study of the processes by which race and racism were created and operated through hunting is necessary and timely. When I set out for fieldwork with my framing of this dissertation around questions of whether hunting constitutes race over the long 20th century history of South Africa, rather than becoming racialized through a set of practices, attitudes and constructions, I knew that this focus prompted a difficult set of questions in relation to the recovery of Pedi and Tswana discourses and practices, and whether or not it is possible to trace/retrieve them in the same way that it has been possible to do for English and Afrikaner discourses and practices through archival and historiographical practices. In part this is because, by the late 19th century, indigenous hunting practices and discourses had already been eroded through colonization and subsequent land appropriations, legislation and dispossession by emerging state powers and settler populations. But more importantly, if hunting *was* foundational to the creation of race and racism in colonial South Africa, then its cooptation and destruction of Pedi and Tswana practices, expertise and knowledge would have fundamentally altered the nature of those discourses and practices. Settlers appropriated such indigenous practices and knowledge primarily by using Pedi and Tswana people and their knowledge as trackers, guides, and workers in support of settler hunting. Simultaneously, Pedi and Tswana hunting practices were being reconstituted and reorganized – through emerging modern notions of nature and ‘the native’ and how they needed to be managed, controlled and preserved – as ‘poaching’ in the settler/colonial discourse.

What I did not anticipate was the extent of the hesitation that I would encounter in

securing on the record interviews about hunting (particularly around poaching and farm murders, but even more broadly on labor and land questions). I return to a discussion of this in the Securing Separations chapter and note how concerns over xenophobia and the precarious positionality of their status as contingent labor results in hesitancy to be identified publicly when speaking about working on farms in the hunting industry. White farm managers and farm owners avoid tense subjects such as poaching, labor relations, or land reform for similar reasons and are circumscribed additionally by the secrecy and anxiety that accompany these discourses and their representation. Informal conversations include hints about knowledge of individual poachers and networks of poachers. However explicit discussion of poaching, or farm labor relations – both of which would be reflective of the capitalist logic that has historically defined them – are deferred to issues deemed ‘more pressing’: ironically, conservation and preservation efforts that will bring development along in the future. I anticipated having much more direct access and conducting a series of interviews across game farms in the Waterberg. The limitations to this have much to do with the persistent racial and class power dynamics on farms and in communities in the Waterberg. This is most notable in discussions around poaching and farm murders (not explicitly one and the same, but linked together) and fears and anxiety about individual and community livelihoods that keep frank discussions about the histories and struggles of black farm workers (who proved to be mostly from outside South Africa, primarily Zimbabwe and Mozambique) at the margins of discussion and mostly inaccessible to me as a white male researcher from the United States. While formal oral interview eluded me, I spent a great deal of time with people – hours around the fire, on a bakkie, looking at their weapons, observing farm workers. Thus I have

focused my analysis on the interplay between narrative and practice. Shifting my focus in this way, hunting emerged almost like a discipline. Where I anticipated having a series of formal oral histories as an account of hunting, I was instead prompted to think of a history of hunting not as a history, but as a concept. Hunting in the Waterberg became something to think through as a physically and discursively located marginal space, a marginality that was a necessary piece in order to make urbanization and the city possible, and to make governance possible. My marginalized position was then shaped differently through my participant observation in that it is filtered even further through my lens of (conscious and unconscious) biases and encounters on farms in the Waterberg. Yet it also opened the very productive space to examine how the historiography is dominated by the imperial question and the industrial questions and how these questions obscure their own incompleteness – they disallow us to look at other spaces. Because hunting is physically moved to the margins, the *achter die berg* of the Waterberg, it is also historiographically moved to the margins. Because there is this connection and distance, simultaneously, ‘frontier areas’ like the Waterberg are eddies where race gets manufactured and where it takes its most harsh form. It is not just the geography and space, but also the actual act of hunting that connects to a pre-industrial/pre-capital Afrikaner past, one that is tied closely to the debate about what it means to be human/non-human, or human/African/animal. In part my analysis takes up a call by Terence Ranger that is more than 40 years old, yet remains salient.

Ranger insisted on opening disciplinary practice to a critique of the way it remains a practice of “A telling B what he is,” despite often best intentions.¹⁹⁸ He wrote

¹⁹⁸ Terence Ranger, “From Humanism to the Science of Man: Colonialism in Africa and the Understanding of Alien Societies,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (1976): 129.

this article in 1976 and the need to examine the persistence of the power of white knowledge production, knowledge with a racial qualifier as a descriptor, remains. Manipulation of the power of knowledge in order to retain economic and social control in the face of the anxieties of political change is an entanglement of “‘popular literature’ with ‘contemporary science’ and ‘imperial politics’”.¹⁹⁹ Two examples from Ranger’s piece link this critique of disciplinary practice to my arguments in this dissertation. Firstly, Ranger notes the removal of the Ngindo in Tanganyika to make way for a game reserve based on inadequate understanding of the social and environment. Because the reserve was a success, this removal had the effect of reinforcing the idea that the area had always been an animal paradise, but it also reinforced the idea of the benefits of returning to a 19th century mode of governance of land animals and people. My arguments around the Palala Game Reserve in the *Achter die berg* chapter and occupier status in the Implements of Destruction chapter vary slightly from this to make an argument about the centrality of land ownership and private property in the Waterberg, yet the parallels of these claims being made based on the need to protect game and access to game for whites is striking. This demonstrates that the links between hunting, game, land, power, and race are not unique to the Waterberg, but in fact remain a central aspect of the continuing need for reflexive investigations of the processes by which these categories are constructed and their connections created. Secondly, Ranger quotes a poem by M. Kayoya:

Often we do not speak openly to the white man until we have discovered his human identity,
 We give him whatever satisfies his often tiresome curiosity
 Some say such curiosity is inhuman because it wants to analyse man.
 My father never wanted us to study man
 Enemies study a person to take him by surprise
 We don’t study man

¹⁹⁹ Ranger, “From Humanism to the Science of Man,” 119.

We try to draw near to communicate.²⁰⁰

Ranger uses this poem by Kayoya to articulate a critique of anthropological *and* historical work that seeks to recuperate African modes of understanding. While his focus is on a disciplinary critique, which in the 1970s put him at odds with much of the direction of the field of African Studies, I want to draw attention here to the line “Enemies study a person to take him by surprise.” This is the notion of the manhunt that I deploy, via Chamayou, to get at the way state power, and the power of narratives – through hunting – operated to analyze and identify the ways to secure white claims to land and animals by writing black Africans out of those same claims: studying African hunting practices so as to prohibit those practices in law. I do not argue that this exercise of power through hunting necessarily took black Africans by surprise, however what has taken some (white and black Africans) by surprise is the failure of hunting to effectively deliver sustainable development along racial lines (see my discussion of the Lyon study in the Securing Separation chapter). Further, Kayoya’s remark about not speaking openly to the white man continues to govern relations in the Waterberg. This is another indication of the importance of how I read the long refinement and reworking of hunting as an accumulated study by an enemy that is today manifested in (mis)understanding built on racial assumptions over a century in the making.

This dissertation focuses on tracing the operations of race and racial organization through hunting. I am interested in understanding the connections between hunting, race, and the exercise of colonial power that has accumulated today in a hunting industry in South Africa where, despite significant political change since 1994, economic and

²⁰⁰ Ranger, “From Humanism to the Science of Man,” 137. Ranger is citing M. Kayoya, “In my father’s footprints,” 23-24.

intellectual change has yet to come, and in fact is reinforced through hunting's connections with sustainable development practices. In part this is a disciplinary critique (see my discussion of Carruthers' work in *Achter die berg* chapter and my analysis of development studies via the Lyon study in *Securing Separation* chapter). Further however, my project explores the connection between hunting narratives that are read *as* history, and claimed as history in particular ways by an evolving white hunting community, for how they are connected with hunting law and policy. It seeks to examine this historical knowledge production for the "assumption of its superiority," and how that assumption continues to operate today.²⁰¹

There are strengths and limitations to this approach. Clearly there are black farm laborers who have significant livelihoods at stake on hunting farms and in the hunting industry and to have their voices represented more explicitly would provide an important and critical piece to the history of hunting. Yet my shift to tracing hunting through narrative, policy, and practice has provided a means of exploring how hunting and ideas about wildlife conservation both changed and persisted throughout the twentieth century.

Alongside participant observation on farms, my fieldwork was spent hunting for documents across various national, provincial, university, and personal archives. Considering that hunting cuts across areas as diverse as wildlife, agriculture, veterinary sciences, environment, sport, tourism, heritage, war, and development, it follows that my reading across these sources is a practice of tracing archival clues, as Ginzburg would argue, of juxtaposing seemingly disparate threads of discussion and finding connections in theme, practice, or pattern. This produces gaps but is simultaneously structured by gaps that I sought to fill. Many files that I sought at archival repositories were lost,

²⁰¹ Ranger, "From Humanism to the Science of Man," 116.

misplaced, or destroyed. Despite extensive collaborative effort with archival staff, I was limited in certain areas of collecting sources on the Waterberg, particularly in court files and minutes of evidence for certain reports.

This uneven, yet mutually constituted, intersection of sources on settler and indigenous hunting practices and expertise/knowledge (a kind of “hybrid” knowledge that is based in knowledge transactions in which indigenous knowledge is largely appropriated) required a critical reading of the ways in which the archive of hunting – its texts, discourses and practices – has been constituted, and a consideration of the possibility that it is always already located within the colonial/settler and modern discourse, such that attempts at retrieving/recovering ‘alternative indigenous voices’ are constrained by a colonial/settler discourse whose concepts, methods and categories have mediated the oral and its inclusions, elisions, omissions. This is needed because anti-colonial and post-colonial discourses and methods, especially those in the disciplines of history and anthropology, have not always critically engaged with the way their methods, concepts and categories may have operated by reason of colonial categories and techniques. I implement a methodology of close reading, paying careful attention to the ways that race and racism are embedded in the language of these texts. Racialized traces are found in the romantic metaphors of hunting, its relationship to land, animals, and the development/preservation of spaces associated with hunting. I track (by way of a genealogical and archaeological reading) how concepts are translated and adopted (or not) by those who speak/write about hunting, or for/against hunters/hunting, and what kinds of language/concepts might be deployed in the language and in thinking.

Therefore, my analysis focuses on what my available sources open up for understanding the complex intersections at which a history of hunting sits. I have relied heavily on official discourse and popular narratives, which remain firmly marked by a white male position of power. Interrogating these sources for their production and relationships over time reveals not a unified linear march of white-led hunting practice coupled with nature conservation that ends in a consensus on the role of hunting for the future of human and wildlife development in the 21st century. Instead, my reading of these sources shows how complex and uncertain negotiations across race, class, and gender were along their connection to hunting, wildlife and nature. There are many ways a history of hunting in the Waterberg could be written and expanded and I plan to continue exploring those. In this dissertation, staying close to the production of hunting as narrative and practice has allowed me to explore the extensive ways that hunting has been defined in text and on the landscape by European hunters and, to lesser degree, by their African employees.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Imagining Waterberg

This chapter frames the Waterberg as the site of this project and how it was historically constituted. I discuss its administrative boundaries and the geology and biology of the region that made it a marginal frontier space. I then explore how the Waterberg is imagined today. Firstly I locate the Ga-Seleka community as one of the only black African Tswana/Pedi communities with a long tenure *achter die berg* (behind the mountain), that is situated along the Palala River and that is the site of Arkwright's hunting visit (After Riders chapter), within the proposed Palala Game Reserve (*Achter die berg* chapter) and today sits amid the hunting farms of the Waterberg (Securing Separation chapter). I then examine the popular history Waterberg literature that is in circulation today for the way that it draws on a particular long ecological and geological past, a 'pre-historic' African past (Stone Age, Iron Age, and San), as well as a particular white settler past of *voortrekkers* that is intimately connected with hunting and conservation. My analysis points to the ways that histories of hunting and the Waterberg are drawn on to articulate an imagining of the Waterberg that obscures the intimate connections of race with hunting that still operate in the Waterberg today. Published as a combination of popular history, scientific analysis, and family history/storytelling, my reading of this literature prompts the analysis of hunting narrative and policy in the chapters that follow.

Chapter 2: After-riders and Afterthoughts: Hunting Narratives and Practices in the Waterberg, 1846-1910

The central source materials for this chapter are English/Afrikaner/European hunting travelogues of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These sources established the colonial/settler aesthetics of hunting in Africa that continue to dominate hunting today. Notions around the proper way to practice and think about hunting circulate in discussions of ‘safari’, gear, weaponry, hunting strategy, food, drink, routines of a hunt, relationships with black African guides/trackers and their knowledge, song, storytelling, exhibit, trophy, status, adventure, associations, clubs, masculinity, femininity, hunter/prey. I explore the figure of the ‘after rider’ in Robert Arkwright’s *Sport and Service in South Africa: The Diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright 1843-1846* as a way to get at the discursive positioning of black Africans as racially inferior to white hunters, but necessary to the operation of the practices of the hunt. I connect this analysis to the proliferation of the genre of the hunting/adventure travelogues and read J. Percy FitzPatrick’s *Jock of the Bushveld* (1907) for how it consolidated the notion of the ‘after rider’ into the character of Jim as the ‘driver’. I read these texts for how they ‘train’ the reader to understand race through the practices of the hunt and how the texts became rooted in an articulation of racism. This not only placed black Africans in a marginal and subject position in the hunt, but also solidified the position of the white hunter as the ‘honest white pioneer’ (Bunn), the figure of which continues to be drawn upon for claims to the land through hunting. Modern notions of what hunting involved – the technologies of hunting and their racial nature – shaped these romantic literatures, but were also, in turn shaped by such narratives about hunting.

Chapter 3: “*Achter die berg*”: Reservation, Preservation, and the Contingent

Establishment of Private Property in the Waterberg, 1846 to 1936

In this chapter I examine early hunting laws and their connection with landowner rights, winter hunts, and concern for poor whites in the Waterberg of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This chapter focuses on policy, with an understanding that there is a close interplay between policy and the social (as read through the popular narrative hunting literature). I frame the chapter around the concept of sovereignty as actions taken on behalf of the idea of a provincial/state government to establish and maintain its existence. I then move on to an analysis of J. du Plessis de Beer (Volksraad member from the Waterberg) via Jane Carruthers, whose work I read critically both as a primary source (for details on the early game laws, as well as de Beer’s (and others) attitudes toward hunting), as well as a secondary source and the way hunting figures in the historiography of southern African environmental history, in which Carruthers remains a key figure. I argue hunting becomes materially and conceptually inseparable from understandings of race in the Waterberg across three main groups – the market hunters, farmers, and poor white, or destitute, Boers. This chapter concludes by discussing the notion of ‘returning to the farm’ and the Waterberg’s relationship to the land policies of the early decades of 20th century. The pioneering ethic persisted in particular ways in the remote areas of the Waterberg to the point where racial divisions on the ground and within the practice of the hunt were blurred at the time, even while racial divisions were being cemented in the law.

Chapter 4: Implements of Destruction: The 1945 Game Commission and Redefining the 'Native' as Poacher

This chapter takes a close look at the Transvaal Province Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation in 1945 and the resulting revised issuance of the 1949 Transvaal Game Ordinance (Ordinance No. 23 of 1949). I argue that an investigation of hunting practices in the Transvaal during the 1940s holds important clues to understanding the particular distillations of racial governance that are marked most notably by the 1948 election of the National Party. I read the Game Commission through the Waterberg as a frontier area that remained largely outside the national imaginary and historiography for the way that the commission authorized and legitimated the exercise of state power over the space of the farm. I do this through attending to the shift in the commission and the game ordinance that removed 'occupier' status from black Africans on farms. Such a reading of hunting through this commission, in connection with the lingering questions of the poor white problem (discussed in the *Achter die berg* chapter above), provides a unique vantage point from which to view the making of race in South Africa that was shaped through legal constructions around farms, land, and animals. I show how the 1940s reflect the long legacy of accumulated colonial intervention from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. My argument is that an analysis of hunting through the commission reveals the persistence of racial inequality and injustice and their centrality to practices associated with hunting and the land/property. This comes together in the notion of the 'exile' and the concept of the 'manhunt.'

Chapter 5: Securing Separation: Narrating and Legislating the Game Farm from the 1960s-1990s

This chapter first traces the hunting narratives of the last half of the 20th century, both how they drew upon the late 19th and early 20th century narratives discussed in previous chapters, and how they looked to a future of that began to enfold both environmentalism and notions of militarization. It will then trace the language of race in game and nature conservation, and related ordinances through the last decades of the 20th century and how those were linked with the enclosure and security of the game farm. I show how the move from hunting as articulated in the ‘game ordinance’ to being articulated in the ‘nature conservation’ ordinances subsumed the language of race into the bureaucratic language of administration and management of conservation. I trace these lines of thought in the frame of the recent Lyon et. al. study on the efforts at sustainable development in the Waterberg where active stakeholders (landowners, environmental association members, and local/regional government employees) are consulted and passive stakeholders (primarily the local black African population and farm laborers) were not part of the study. This chapter pulls chapters two, three, and four together in order to show the accumulation of racial language in social categorization and perceptions of hunting narratives, rural farm development, and racialized hunting policies that further limited black African access to hunting. I argue that hunting as practice and its narration always already precludes the socio-economic success of hunting as sustainable development for local African communities precisely through the seemingly innocuous accumulation and hardening of its governing assumptions around race, class, and the private land (property) of game farms.

Chapter 6: Blood Lines: Cecil the Lion, Mandela, and Art in History

This chapter serves as an epilogue, or perhaps an ‘Afterword’. It is chronologically ‘after’, or following the previous chapters, but it works also in a different register (of assembly, the aesthetic, labor history/politics, the metaphor of the ‘after rider’) to see how race might be thought simultaneously in the time after apartheid and with the conceptualizations of postapartheid or postcolonial theory. It connects the threads between hunting and race across this dissertation, as well as offering openings for questions that arise from them. I examine three events: the killing of Cecil the lion, Nelson Mandela’s hunting trip in 1991, and art installation *Red* that explores the making of a red Mercedes Benz for Mandela in 1990. I use this frame to examine hunting beyond the end of apartheid to connect hunting practice, development, and conservation with the hyper-technical media and the anxieties of economic uncertainty and environmental and cultural protection in the post-apartheid era and how they are produced on the hunting farm. I make the argument that hunting, and the race relations it constituted, is a deeply modern phenomenon rather than a practice one can romantically or otherwise associate with a pre-colonial or colonial past. I argue that the particular type of ‘training’ I explored around the ‘after rider’ in chapter two reappears in the figure of Mandela and his hunt. I show how despite the optimism of Mandela’s hunt and the coming ‘new’ South Africa of 1994, hunting remains a constitutive practice with regards to race in the post-apartheid.

Chapter 1

Imagining Waterberg

The Waterberg – A Research Site

The Waterberg is considered a historical backwater. The dearth of historical academic interest in this district led Isabel Hofmeyr to conclude that the region can only tentatively be thought as having formed an identity through narrative.¹ Yet far from being a stagnant and static backwater region, the Waterberg is rather as a sort of ‘eddy’ where ideas, social relations and material exchanges between settlers and local communities continue to swirl. This is precisely the space where national, regional and local notions of South Africa (around identity, social relations, race relations, economic systems, and land use) percolate and become codified and embedded in the lives of people. The Waterberg provides a compelling case study for both its centrality as a hunting area in South Africa, as well as my personal connection to the area that enables me to navigate the region. It is geographically positioned alongside a section of the Limpopo River that forms the northern boundary of South Africa to Botswana. The term ‘Waterberg’ in Afrikaans means ‘water mountain’. This is a reference to the mountainous region’s many rivers and water sources, though the Waterberg extends west of the mountains into areas of the Limpopo province where seasonal rains create the ‘bush’ or ‘bushveld’ as marginal agricultural land historically less suitable for crops or livestock and more suited to the hunting industry and game farms. Along the Palala River in this more marginal climate region is also where Tswana and Pedi communities were concentrated during

¹ Isabel Hofmeyr, "Turning Region into Narrative: English Storytelling in the Waterberg," paper presented at The University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop (February 9-14, 1987), 8. It is useful here to think about ‘water’ and the flows and eddies of ideas and information - the *Waterberg* (as a site of hunting narratives) and the University of Witwatersrand (as the site of knowledge production).

apartheid, and continue to live today. The longest established black African community in the region *achter die berg* (behind the mountain, see geological description of the area below²) is at Ga-Seleka, which traces its origins back to Mzilikaze's movement north along the western side of the Limpopo river (now Botswana) in the 1820s and 30s.³ In the post-apartheid, these communities are marked by limited access to adequate resources (housing, electricity, education, health care), and unemployment.⁴ When traveling in and out of Ga-Seleka through the Waterberg, one remarks on the game fences that line the roads for hundreds of kilometers on both sides. These fences mark out the private game farms and game reserves across the region, and are the very real/material/physical evidence of the exclusion of Tswana and Pedi peoples from the land. The landscape of the bushveld of the north Waterberg and its distance from major urban centers makes it a peripheral area in the broader understandings of South Africa, but a central location when associated with hunting and as a site for current rural development projects. The perpetuation of the region as a hunter's paradise in both practice and narrative has provided fertile ground for research about social systems and racial formations in tension with post-apartheid hopes for equality and redress.

Administrative Boundaries

² This is not a single mountain peak, but an escarpment, or steep wall of mountain cliffs that run along the eastern Waterberg and are very inaccessible. Most references to being 'behind the mountain' are in reference to being west or north of the mountains from Nylstroom.

³ Personal communication, Kgosi Phetogo David Seleka, October 2007.

⁴ From 2007-2009 my wife Jessica and I lived in one of these communities, Ga-Seleka, in the western Waterberg, roughly 65km north of the nearest town of Ellisras. A bus or public taxi takes just over an hour to get to Ellisras. From Ellisras it is roughly four hours by car to Pretoria. To travel by public taxi, as most black South Africans do, from Ga-Seleka to Pretoria takes between six and eight hours.

The Waterberg District was created in March 1866.⁵ Nylstroom (Modimolle) was established as a town in the same year and as the seat of the district government.⁶ The *Volksraad* (governmental body) of the Transvaal Republic excised the Waterberg district from the Zoutpansberg District that had made up nearly the whole of what is now the northern Transvaal stretching along the southern edge of the Limpopo River as it arcs from the west, bordering Botswana, to north along the border with Zimbabwe to Mozambique. Over the next few decades the borders were redrawn a few times as surveys of the area increased and more extensive efforts to map the whole of the Transvaal continued.⁷ By the end of the South African War in 1902, the Waterberg District borders were as such: to the west it is bounded by the Matlabas River, to the north by the Limpopo River, and to the east by the Magalakwene River. The southern border angled from the Matlabas River east into the central Highveld before turning north and cutting back toward the Magalakwene River past Piet Potgietersrus.⁸

⁵ Clive Walker and J. du P. Bothma, *The Soul of the Waterberg* (Houghton: African Sky Publishing, 2005), 63.

⁶ Elizabeth Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg: A Photographic Journey* (Johannesburg: Camera Press CC, 2010), 51.

⁷ Jane Carruthers, "Friedrich Jeppe: Mapping the Transvaal c. 1850-1899," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 4, (December 2003): 955-975. Carruthers argues that the enlightenment reason associated with late 19th century scientific authority was put to use by colonial authorities through mapping in an effort to render an imagined community visible by projecting it onto a map.

⁸ See map below.



Figure 1 - This is part of an official Map of the Transvaal Colony compiled by the Surveyor General's Office in December 1902.⁹

The Waterberg Mountains run through the southern section of the district from the southwest to the northeast. The railway line (black and white line in Figure 1 above) runs along the eastern edge of the Waterberg mountains. The initial major towns of Waterberg were all located east of the mountains. The path along which the railway line extends was the most accessible path north along the edge of the central Highveld and was free of malaria and tsetse. The railway line from Pretoria eventually ran along the mountains

⁹ Original copies of the map are housed at the National Archives of South Africa.

through Bela-Bela (Warmbaths, 1883), Modimolle (Nylstroom, 1886), Mookgopong (Naboomspruit, 1929) and Mokopane (Piet Potgietersrus).¹⁰ The only town in the Waterberg mountains remains Vaalwater.¹¹ The largest town *achter-die-berg*, or “behind the mountain,” is Lephalale (Ellisras) which was established in the 1930s. Hunting in the Waterberg primarily took place *achter die berg* and hunting in this region persisted longer than in other areas because of its inaccessibility and because of tsetse and malaria, which kept more hunters away and game retreated here and further north. This region is also where hunting farms in the post-apartheid have proliferated along with related ‘safari’ lodges that have come to dominate much of the farm economy and are central to (re)imagining the Waterberg. Because of this association with a hunting economy past and present, this dissertation focuses mainly on the areas of the Waterberg Mountains and the area *achter die berg*. When referring to the ‘Waterberg’ I am referencing the region *achter die berg*, the north or real Waterberg rather than the larger administrative entity/district, unless specifically noted.¹²

Geology and Biodiversity

¹⁰ Dates listed are when the towns were officially proclaimed, though settlement in these areas predated proclamation. Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 62-63.

¹¹ Vaalwater translates as ‘grey, or ashen water’ and the name was taken from the description of the nearby river. Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 81. Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 66. In Figure 1, Vaalwater would be located just north of “Zand Riv. Poort” (*Zandriverspoort*, or Sand River Port) close to the split in the orange lines that represented existing wagon trails. *Zandriverspoort* originally consisted of a small store and inn at the base of the ‘nek’ (neck), a steep and difficult pass through the “Seven Sisters” bluffs that dominate the eastern side of the central valley of the Waterberg Mountains. It is unclear when Vaalwater was ‘established’, but William Kirkman set up a trading post on the farm Vaalwater around 1905. The railroad reached Vaalwater in 1927. Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 81. Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 66-67.

¹² As a possibility for future work, the histories of the towns along the railway line would make for a fascinating and important study of the development of agriculture and infrastructure, particularly when looking at the relationship of the black African communities of Hendrick Masibi and Kgosi Makapan near Mokopane (Potgietersrus) to these developments.

One of the first ways the Waterberg is introduced is through its geology with an emphasis on the mountain range shaped roughly 1.8 billion years ago.¹³ The geological region known as the Waterberg System is labeled the Bushveld Igneous Complex for its makeup of mineral and iron rich sediments of volcanic origin that have since eroded in particular ways to allow for close study and mineral extraction.¹⁴ Considering the mineral wealth of the Rand diamonds and gold, plus platinum, coal, tin etc., it is not surprising that extensive geological work has taken place in this region. The Waterberg coalfields near Ellisras where Grootgeluk coalmine is located have provided the site for two large coal-fired power plants.¹⁵

Growing, literally, from the geological history of the region is the Sour Mountain Bushveld vegetation that dominates the Waterberg mountains and the bushveld along the Limpopo.¹⁶ This bushveld supports a highly diverse range of animals and birds.¹⁷ The Waterberg was settled by white farmers with the aim of establishing livestock and agriculture ventures in the region and to stabilize white control of the area.¹⁸ Already in the early 20th century it was recognized that the flora of the Waterberg was not conducive

¹³ H.V. Eales, "A First Introduction to the Geology of the Bushveld Complex and those aspects of South African Geology that relate to it." Popular Geoscience Series, no. 2 (Pretoria: Council for Geoscience, 2001). This paper was published for government use and is a prose account of the Bushveld Complex geology for those unfamiliar with the field. The ancient links drawn in the long popular histories of the Waterberg abound: Walker and Bothma, *The Soul of the Waterberg*, 20. William Taylor, Gerald Hinde, and David Holt-Biddle, *The Waterberg: the natural splendors and the people* (Cape Town: Struik Publishers, 2003).

¹⁴ Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 24-26. Taylor et. al., *The Waterberg*, 18-23.

¹⁵ Matimba power station was completed in the 1980s. Medupi power station remains under construction at the time of this writing. Both of these are powered by coal from the Grootgeluk mine. Faeza Ballim's political and economic analysis of these infrastructure projects and their parastatals is one of the few recent studies in the area. Faeza Ballim, *The Evolution of Large Technical Systems in the Waterberg Coalfield of South Africa: From Apartheid to Democracy*, PhD Dissertation, (University of Witwatersrand, 2017).

¹⁶ Lapalala Wilderness Reserve, <https://lapalala.com/about/> Accessed August 2017.

¹⁷ Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 88-101. They also include a 30 page extensive (but not complete) list of the flora and fauna to be found in the region as a marker of its biodiversity. This itemization is part of the extensive textual way that the Waterberg is figured as a unique environment in need of protection. Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 153-184.

¹⁸ See discussion in *Achter die berg* chapter.

to large commercial farming operations. A game reserve was proposed for part of the region but eventually was dismissed, and farming under difficult conditions continued.¹⁹ It was only in the last decades of the 20th century that managing game populations on farms began in earnest, with the argument that game utilizes a wider variety of the bushveld flora and is thus more environmentally appropriate, and increasingly more economically viable.²⁰ In 2001, the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve (WBR) was created as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve.²¹ The mix of hunting farms and reserve lands in the area has driven the post-apartheid conservation efforts in the Waterberg.

Imagining Waterberg

Prior to being known as a peripheral and a hunting frontier²² of the expanding *voortrekker* and later white colonial rule of the 19th century, the Waterberg was home to the San more than 1,500 years ago as well as to Iron Age and Stone Age communities.²³ This evidence remains abundant in the caves and overhangs of the Waterberg mountains and is of both a significant historical interest as well as eco-tourist interest.²⁴ The Makapan Valley along the eastern edge of the Waterberg area has produced early human

¹⁹ See discussion of the proposed Palala Game Reserve in the Koedoesrand Ward of the Waterberg in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

²⁰ Taylor et. al., *The Waterberg*, 28-30. See discussion in Securing Separation chapter.

²¹ The Waterberg Biosphere Reserve is located in the Waterberg Mountains and it covers over 650,000 hectares in total made up of reserve land, private farms, and black African community land. Vaalwater remains the only town within the WBR. I provide a detailed discussion of the WBR in the Securing Separations chapter. Andrew Lyon, Philippa Hunter-Jones, Gary Warnaby. "Are we any closer to sustainable development? Listening to active stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa," *Tourism Management* 61 (2017): 237-238; and UNESCO, "Biosphere Reserve Information Waterberg," <http://www.unesco.org/mabdb/br/brdir/directory/biores.asp?code=SAF+03&mode=all> Accessed August 2017.

²² Roger Wagner, "Zoutpansberg: the dynamics of a hunting frontier, 1848-67," in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1980), 313-349.

²³ Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 37-45, 53; and Taylor et. al., *The Waterberg*, 32-45.

²⁴ Taylor et. al., *The Waterberg*, 32-48.

fossils from almost two to three million years ago.²⁵ Many of these caves seem to have been used consistently over millennia. Stone Age tools such as handaxes and other implements have been found in overhanging rock shelters and caves along the Lephalala and other rivers within the Waterberg mountains.²⁶ Deposits of minerals, particularly iron, have been exploited since at least the 8th century A.D. and tools were used for farming and hunting, as well as social and cultural practices.²⁷ Such archaeological evidence points to the complex and dynamic communities of the region that exploited mineral resources, farmed, raised cattle, and traded extensively long before white hunters entered the Waterberg.²⁸ While the archaeological work points the much longer history of the Waterberg and to the opportunity for more historical work to be done in this area, this dissertation focuses on the changing dynamics brought about by the influx of white hunting.

Ga-Seleka

Ga-Seleka and the Seleka Trust is likely the longest established black African community *achter die berg*. I was given a brief genealogy of Seleka by *Kgosi* (chief) Phetogo David Seleka.²⁹ The Kgosis by name were:

²⁵ Sidney Miller, "1st Phase Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment for the Farms Donkerpoort 448 KQ, Randstephne 455 KQ, and Waterfall 443 KQ, Thabazimbi, Limpopo Province," (African Heritage Consultants CC, February 2014), 15. Thabazimbi is located on the western border of what is now the Waterberg municipal district.

²⁶ Taylor et. al., *The Waterberg*, 37-39. Miller makes an important distinction regarding the terms Stone Age and Iron Age when he states, In archaeology general terms such as 'Stone Age', 'Iron Age' and 'Historical Period' are used to delineate certain time periods in our history. They are not intended to specifically define time, but rather a period in which certain cultural aspects of people's lives dominated their specific world views and lifestyle. For instance, during the eighteenth century there were Stone Age people ("San" or "Bushmen") living contemporary with a number of South African "tribes" (Iron Age people) as well as with European people (Historical Period). Miller, "1st Phase Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment," 16.

²⁷ Miller, "1st Phase Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment," 10.

²⁸ Miller, "1st Phase Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment," 11 and 16-17.

²⁹ Interview with Kgosi Phetogo David Seleka, 4 August 2017. The use of single names, and those like Seleka 1 and 2, remains the common usage throughout the communities of Seleka Trust. According to

- Mazwe
- Motlhasedi
- Tselapedi
- Motlhajwa
- Seleka 1
- Kobe³⁰
- Seleka 2
- Mananye (Gutter)
- Seleka 3 (Radibaki) (Phetogo's father)
- Zacharia Tombi Seleka³¹ (Phetogo's uncle)
- Phetogo David Seleka

The story of Seleka was told to me as follows: Mazwe was a follower of Mzilikaze (a dissident general of Shaka/Chaka's armies in the 1820s and 1830s during the *difaqane*), perhaps related to him. As Kgosi Phetogo David Seleka and Rra Mocheke (assistant to Kgosi Seleka at the Tribal Office) related to me, Mazwe, and the rest of Mzilikaze and his followers, left KwaZulu and made their way north during the *difaqane*. Mzilikaze pushed through the western Waterberg, along the Limpopo, to Rhodesia, now southern Zimbabwe, where he died. Mazwe, like others, split from Mzilikaze at some point and

Kgosi Seleka, there is an official register of the genealogy housed at the Limpopo regional office for the Department of Cooperative Government, Human Settlements & Traditional Affairs in Polokwane. Unfortunately I was unable to locate this document, though it should have been available. I was told it must just be misplaced. This would likely have more information, such as full names and dates. There is not a copy at the Seleka Tribal Office.

³⁰ I confirmed with Kgosi Seleka that this is the Chief Kobe mentioned in Arkwright's journal from 1843-1846 when he visited Seleka to hunt elephant along the Lephalala. See discussion in After Riders chapter. I provided Kgosi Seleka with a copy of Arkwright's journal to keep at the Seleka Tribal Office. Robert Arkwright, *Sport and Service in South Africa: The Diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright 1843-1846*, ed. Edward C. Tabler (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971).

³¹ This is Radibaki's younger brother, who became chief after Radibaki passed away. He was chief for roughly 40 years. The current chief, Phetogo David Seleka, did not mention ZT Seleka in his accounting of the genealogy. When Kgosi Seleka left our meeting in his office to search for a document with more genealogy information, Rra Mocheke related to me that Zacharia Tombi Seleka was left out of the genealogy I was given because Phetogo David Seleka did not get along with his uncle. I remember hearing about this briefly when I first arrived in Seleka in October 2007, shortly after the inauguration of Phetogo David Seleka in July of that year. The inauguration was still a topic of conversation, especially for my wife Jessica and I, as newcomers from the United States. I still do not have information as to the nature of the disagreement or dislike between these two, however Rra Mocheke's comment to me while Kgosi Seleka was out of the room indicates that this dislike is well known. Rra Peter Molokomme, the head administrator at the Seleka Tribal Office, confirmed the dispute to me. Molokomme was the one who mentioned ZT Seleka's tenure, saying that without including ZT Seleka there would be "40 years where people would think we did not have a kgosi." Rra Mocheke commented that, "people will tell you the history that suits them."

moved a group of people along the western (now Botswana) side of the Limpopo.³² His people settled at what is today Ngwapa Kgotla at the foot of the mountain across the Limpopo visible from Seleka.³³ The community spread south again from there across the Limpopo to where Seleka (South Africa) is situated today. Kgosi Seleka and Rra Mocheke speculated that it was Seleka 1 who first brought people to settle on the southern side of the Limpopo. It was also Seleka 1 who changed the name of the area from the old name, Lesatwane, to Seleka. Due to their settlement and interaction with other communities in what is now Botswana, the people of Seleka now speak a form of Setswana that is similar to what is spoken today in Botswana.³⁴ Rra Mocheke pointed out that Mazwe contains a ‘z’, which is a letter not used in Setswana. He also noted that ‘Seleka’ is a derivative of Mzilikaze (pronouncing the name ‘msilikaz’ to emphasize the phonetic affinity of the names). Some of the maps of the region from the late 19th and early 20th century use the spelling Silika or Selika. Today, many of the schools that fall within the Seleka Trust (the community of villages administered under the Seleka Tribal Office along the Palala River)³⁵, bear the names of previous chiefs: Mazwe (secondary school in Seleka), Mothlasedi (primary school in Bostitch), Mananye (school in one of

³² The northern movement of Mzilikaze along the western side of the Limpopo would have been along what was to become Hunter’s Road. This was the main western route from what is today Gauteng province, through what is now Botswana, and on to where Mzilikaze and his Ndebele settled in what is now Matabeleland in Zimbabwe. In the 1800s, this route skirted the western edge of the tsetse fly belt along the Limpopo river, which limited settlement in the area and movement across the Limpopo into what today would be western Waterberg (until after the 1896 rinderpest epidemic after which tsetse was no longer present in the area). Seleka, settled along the Palala, is the exception.

³³ Today there is a Seleka community in Botswana there, some of whom just visited Kgosi Seleka the day before our meeting.

³⁴ Much of the other black African communities in the Waterberg speak SePedi, another version of what is also referred to as Northern Sotho. Northern Sotho is also the name given to the groups of black Africans, sometimes just referred to as Pedi, that crossed in and out of the Waterberg during the 19th century, many coming from the east and south due to war and displacement of the *difaqane* (meaning crushing, scattering, forced dispersal, forced migration) and the movement of Mzilikaze and his Ndebele from what is now KwaZulu Natal from the 1820s-1840s. <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/political-changes-1750-1835>

³⁵ The Seleka area was scheduled under the Native Lands Commission in 1916 and reaffirmed in with the Natives Trust and Land Act 1936. See discussion in *Achter die berg* chapter.

the communities on the Rietfontein road north of Seleka), Radibaki (primary school near Boskop, down the Shongoane road from Seleka).

Despite its long presence in the Waterberg, Seleka's location on the Palala River closer to the confluence with the Limpopo has left it out of the popular narratives emerging from the Waterberg today. Mzilikaze and the *difaqane* are briefly mentioned, but often in order to make the historical case for the limited nature of permanent settlement in the area (the empty land myth so prevalent among settler colonial histories), alongside the other limiting factors of the presence of tsetse and malaria and the inaccessibility of the mountains. As a result, Clive Walker and J. de Plessis Bothma state, "Although Sotho speakers did live in parts of the Waterberg, there never were any major settlements of them there."³⁶ Taylor et. al. give even less attention to the *difaqane*, saying only that the Waterberg was part of the geography affected by the displacement that caused, "great disturbance and distress among local peoples."³⁷ It remains unknown the extent to which black African communities along this section of the Limpopo valley were established before the mid-1800s, however, the movement and displacement of people associated with Mzilikaze and the *difaqane* are partially used to argue for the "devastated" nature of the region into which the *voortrekkers* entered.³⁸ Such a perspective on the land enables the narrative move to lay claim to an 'empty land' through the struggles of white settler farmers.

Because of its remoteness and inaccessibility, the Waterberg was one of the last parts of northern South Africa to be permanently settled by white people, and specifically farmers. The Palala Plateau was used for seasonal hunting and pasturage, but, for the most part, the Waterberg was left to its own devices. This situation persisted right up to the beginning of the twentieth century, when one

³⁶ Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 46. I discuss these authors in more detail below.

³⁷ Taylor et. al., *The Waterberg*, 48.

³⁸ Taylor et. al., *The Waterberg*, 50.

estimate put the number of white people living in the Waterberg at fewer than 200.³⁹

Yet it is the discourse emanating from the descendants of these less than 200 people that dominates the perceptions and histories of the Waterberg today.

Waterberg Stories

Isabel Hofmeyr's analysis of narratives and storytelling focused on the concerns and daily practices of English whites in the 'remote' Waterberg area at the turn of the 20th century and remains one of the few works on white settlement in the region.⁴⁰ Her thesis is that by looking at the world these stories come from and how they imagine this world in text, one can explore whether the stories can be seen as 'regional' or whether they embody a defined 'sense of place.' She is concerned with how, "region turned into narrative?"⁴¹ and specifically with exploring how narrative comes to transmit the notion of region, and to what end this was important historically. The Waterberg, particularly the North Waterberg, or 'real' Waterberg as described by Hofmeyr, is narrated through natural borders of geography/geology that combine with an ecology and habitat of game, limited in access for settlement by tsetse and the mountains.⁴² Hofmeyr's assertion that the mythical allure of the region stems from its inaccessibility comes to be defined through the practice of hunting – the one enterprise that crosses the divide – and thus, "[t]o at least some further south, the Waterberg then was a region constituted by

³⁹ Taylor et. al., *The Waterberg*, 49.

⁴⁰ Hofmeyr, "Turning Region into Narrative." She did not explore the experience of Africans (though she acknowledged the difficulty of doing so given the English colonial source material), or Afrikaners, but her work provides a way to think through the contested relationships between English, Afrikaner, and African communities in the Waterberg region and how they evolved over the 20th century. Hofmeyr's analysis of narrative and my reading of her through hunting narratives are taken up in the After Riders chapter.

⁴¹ Hofmeyr, "Turning Region Into Narrative: English Storytelling in the Waterberg," 7.

⁴² Hofmeyr, "Turning Region Into Narrative," 8. Recall my discussion in the introduction via Ginzburg and the linkages between the hunter and narrative.

narrative, a faraway place which produced not only game but storytellers, traditionally people from afar.”⁴³ Those from afar were the hunters. Yet despite these narratives and the ivory trade marking early colonial perceptions of the Waterberg, Hofmeyr cautions against defining a ‘region’ politically, economically, socially due to the elusive nature of local, regional, global relationships and the fluidity of connections between them.⁴⁴

Hofmeyr’s main source material is a series of letters by Mary (Mollie) Fawcett that relate her experiences of life as an English woman living with her aunts, Edith and Katherine, on the farm *Vier-en-twintig-riviers* (Twenty Four Rivers) at the turn of the 20th century. In the 1930s, Cyril Prance turned the tale of Edith and Katherine into a story about ‘the aunts’ titled “Victorians in the Veld.”⁴⁵ Prance took narrative license with his book to portray a sense of civilizing the bushveld through his novels.⁴⁶ In the 1950s Elizabeth Clarke (Elizabeth was Mollie Fawcett’s daughter), wrote her *Waterberg Valley* recounting the family history of Mollie, Edith, and Katherine.⁴⁷ This recurrence is important in that it serves as an important historical and narrative repetition, remembering and recasting of the Waterberg over time. As Hofmeyr states about the Waterberg literature more broadly:

In many ways then, this fiction from this small but significant group of English settlers constitutes a literature of remembering. But in the structure of that memory itself one can detect the historical traces of their experience which manifests itself in certain recurrent designs in these narratives. The overarching pattern takes shape around the idea of the mountain range as a barrier-frontier which becomes the subject/pretext for narratives of difficult journeys into a remote world. This world beyond the mountains is in turn recreated by a series of

⁴³ Hofmeyr, “Turning Region Into Narrative,” 10.

⁴⁴ Hofmeyr, “Turning Region Into Narrative,” 7.

⁴⁵ Hofmeyr, “Turning Region Into Narrative,” 29-30.

⁴⁶ Cyril Prance, *Tante Rebella’s Sagas* (London, 1937) Hofmeyr, “Turning Region Into Narrative,” 11.

⁴⁷ Hofmeyr cites Elizabeth Clarke’s *Waterberg Valley* as being published in Johannesburg in 1955, Hofmeyr, “Turning Region Into Narrative,” 7. Yet Liz Hunter’s *Pioneers of the Waterberg* (discussed below) lists Clarke’s book as being written in 1954 and as “an unfinished autobiography, not published.” I have not been able to secure a copy of it.

stories focusing on the social format of the settler world rooted in the universe of the farm.⁴⁸

Hofmeyr, writing in 1987, argued that this type of storytelling was a practice of the past noting, “some of Edith’s descendants for example are still good raconteurs,” but – at the time in the 1980s the regional and decidedly British (farm) settler character of the skill of storytelling that, in turn, shaped the region did not really exist anymore. In the post-apartheid this has changed, and these stories of the Waterberg are once again recurring and drawn upon as a literature of remembering.

The Black Mamba Arts and Curios shop in Vaalwater has a small bookshelf. Mostly this consists of wildlife and safari guides for spotting mammals, birds, reptiles, and trees/plants when venturing out from Vaalwater into what is now hunting/game farm and game reserve lands. Yet, amid these can also be found the few, but significantly important, local histories on the Waterberg.⁴⁹ Liz Hunter, Elizabeth Clarke’s niece, published her *Pioneers of the Waterberg* in 2010. Lex Rodger’s “Vintage Waterberg,” referenced by Hofmeyr as an unpublished typescript, was published posthumously by his family, also in 2010, as *Waterberg: Vintage Waterberg and Timeless Waterberg*. Clive Walker’s autobiography *Baobab Trails* was published in 2013 and he co-authored *The Soul of the Waterberg* with J. du Plessis Bothma in 2005. There is also *The Waterberg: the natural splendors and the people*, by William Taylor, Gerald Hinde, and David Holt-

⁴⁸ Hofmeyr, “Turning Region Into Narrative,” 20.

⁴⁹ I have made multiple visits to Black Mamba over the last 10 years and apart from Hunter and Rodger, no new local history material has come out. I have also met a number of Waterberg residents at the adjacent Seringa Café, a popular local spot for landowners and managers where everyone seems to know everyone else. In these conversations I have asked about other recently published work on the Waterberg, but these texts seem to constitute the central literature of the post-apartheid imagining of the Waterberg.

Biddle published in 2003.⁵⁰ These works comprise the present imagining of the Waterberg, and they are well known in the region.

Hunter's work is a family history of the Twenty Four Rivers farm. It is prefaced by Juliet Caldcott as telling the long history of pioneer white farmers who settled a "land of open vistas" built on the legacy of *voortrekkers* from the Cape who moved in after "the brown skinned Africans of a peace loving nature" fled from the more militant Mzilikaze.⁵¹ Clive Walker reiterates the "hardy, honest, serious minded" pioneer mentality that existed alongside the "gun runners, hunters, draft dodgers, and makers of strong drink" that gave the region a particularly chaotic reputation where, "one can only admire the fortitude and hardship experienced" authored the Foreword.⁵² Walker also notes that the rugged nature of the terrain that made the Waterberg inaccessible "proved to be a blessing" in protecting it from excessive settlement and development.⁵³ Before Hunter even begins her family narrative, the pretense of empty land and strong pioneers persevering where meek black Africans did not is laid down. It is also connected to the spirit of conserving the region's natural beauty and wilderness. She reiterates the special nature of the Waterberg by quoting Lex Rodger's "Vintage Waterberg" at length where Rodger waxes eloquent about Ted Davidson's trading days of the early 20th century into the remote corners of the district using Louis Botha's wagon, acquired after the war.⁵⁴ Certainly Hunter's work is not intended to explore and analyze racial dynamics in the Waterberg. Yet as a popular history that stages the Waterberg as a space of a particular

⁵⁰ Lex Rodger, *Waterberg: Vintage Waterberg and Timeless Waterberg* (Cape Town: Creda Communications, 2010). Other authors cited above in full.

⁵¹ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 8-9.

⁵² Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 13. This is in addition to the Preface by Caldcott.

⁵³ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 13.

⁵⁴ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 15.

pioneer mentality and ethic it embeds within it the long history of the marginal racial positions ascribed to black Africans. Taken together with other contemporary literature on the Waterberg discussed below and in the next chapter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg* does specific work in contributing to a post-apartheid imagining of the white settler farm in the present. She retells the story of Arthur Peacock (cousin of Cecil Rhodes), his wife Katherine and her sister Edith and their niece Molly. They first settled on the farm Cremartardfontein, which today is part of D'nyala Nature Reserve,⁵⁵ but moved to the farm Blaauwbank further up into the Waterberg mountains to recover from malaria.⁵⁶ Having gone to Warmbaths (Bela-Bela) for safety reasons during the South African War, they returned to the Waterberg mountains and Twenty Four Rivers farm. Hunter and her siblings today own the farm. Hunter recalls as a child taking treks with Botha's wagon across the bushveld to the farm Toulon, near present day Ellisras.⁵⁷ There were cars at the time, but the retracing of a bushveld winter trek and hunt was an important and exciting practice of reliving the pioneer days, following old wagon tracks, outspanning along the rivers, and hunting. Hunter's book includes a number of photographs, some from these days of making the trek. While the reminiscence is of a childhood spent remembering a family's early days in the bushveld, the photos also hint at the story of the black Africans who worked on the farm and in the roles long associated with white hunting and trekking in the veld. There is July, the chef, "locals stamping Mielies," and others helping with

⁵⁵ See my discussion of D'nyala as the site for bosberade discussions of political transition in the 1980s and 1990s in the Introduction. Cremartardfontein (Cream of Tartarfontein) is named after the large baobab tree on the farm, which is still there today and is one of the large trees that Walker discusses in his *Baobab Trails*.

⁵⁶ Tsetse fly could not survive in higher altitudes, which made the mountains a safer place to live, but their inaccessibility limited those who were willing to do so.

⁵⁷ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 19.

hunting, inspanning, and outspanning.⁵⁸ Woven between these images are large sections of quoted text from Elizabeth Clarke's *Waterberg Valley* and Molly Fawcett's letters that for Hunter illuminate the game, flora, and "natives" as a novelty of the times.⁵⁹ There is no context given for the use of the word 'native' here. Hunter repeats it as if being quoted directly from Clarke or Fawcett, but its meaning, implications and provenance remains unclear. Slipping into this language in the post-apartheid presents the Waterberg here as a particular reality with recurring racial divisions.⁶⁰ While the focus is on a family history, it uncritically reinscribes black Africans in the post-apartheid in their roles as 'natives' working the farm for white farmers on the trek, or in the case of Hunter's childhood, performing the trek.⁶¹ In an extensive quote from Clarke's *Waterberg Valley* (written in the 1950s) there is reference to the 'natives' who cut wagon paths through the bush and helped hunt for the pot and for sport.⁶² Elsewhere Clarke is quoted referring to a 'native' as a "faithful driver and *voorloper*."⁶³ As a portrayal of family history as reality, this book is thus read and interpreted as the reality of the Waterberg today and shapes opinions not just on the history of white settler farms in the area, but on the history of those black Africans who work(ed) the farms as well. Again, this reinscription is subtle and likely unintended but, rather, provides a sense of how deep-seated the racial ordering of this world has been inherited from the past and from its discourses. Twenty Four Rivers is well known for having had one of the earliest schools for black Africans in the

⁵⁸ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 103-109.

⁵⁹ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 27.

⁶⁰ This slippage takes place again when the word "natives" is used alongside the phrase "new and unexpected menace" when framing quoted text from Clarke about fighting that took place with the "Masibe tribe" during the South African War. Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 33.

⁶¹ I draw the term 'performing' here from Goodrich's analysis of post-apartheid biltong hunting. See my discussions in the Introduction and in Securing Separation chapter.

⁶² Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 52-53.

⁶³ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 52-53. *Voorloper* translates roughly to forerunner, here meant as a person who went ahead of the wagon.

Waterberg.⁶⁴ Members of the family of black Africans, identified initially only as Helena and her daughter Lydia, who came to work on the Twenty Four Rivers in 1906,⁶⁵ reside there still today and together there is a desire to make the farm more of a historical destination in the region.⁶⁶ These examples are given, with the sincerity of liberal thinking in the postapartheid era, of ongoing efforts in at Twenty Four Rivers and other places in the region, to address the material inequalities faced by black Africans in the Waterberg of the post-apartheid.

Lex Rodger's memories of the pioneering days of the Waterberg are similar. His family owned Louwskraal farm east of the Waterberg mountains just north of Nylstroom.⁶⁷ He recalls childhood days of taking the ox wagon out on "camping-cum-hunting" trips with his grandfather where they would stay in the beauty of the bushveld,⁶⁸ reenacting again the *voortrekker* past. Rodger also lauds the pioneer efforts of the early farmers like his grandfather John Gray who, amid the great depression and coinciding drought when many other white farmers were forced to abandon their farms for work in town or on more wealthy properties, was able to hang on to part of the family farm. This was done by erecting a small pole-and-daga homestead on his portion of Louwskraal in order for it to qualify as "beneficially occupied" under the Department of Lands.⁶⁹ Gray

⁶⁴ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 127. Hunter here is citing, and has included the image of, a newspaper clipping from either November or December 3, 1928, written by R.W Swardreck, who visited Twenty Four Rivers and found it as an exception to the rough and difficult living associated with "Bush Baptists" of the Waterberg mountains which at that time remained difficult to penetrate. Swardreck noted the difficult roads and passes he navigated to get to the farm, and once his car was stuck, happened to find the farm by following the sound of singing voices to the church on Twenty Four Rivers.

⁶⁵ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 115.

⁶⁶ Personal correspondence, Elizabeth Hunter, August 2015.

⁶⁷ Lex Rodger became the registered owner of the farm in 1941 when he was married. Rodger, *Waterberg*, 13.

⁶⁸ Rodger, *Waterberg*, 14-15.

⁶⁹ Rodger, *Waterberg*, 12-13.

employed four black African labor tenants on his farm in order to keep the farm viable.⁷⁰

In a short chapter titled “Men of the Mountains,” Rodger connects the long history of Stone Age people with the San and then to the “local black people” by commenting on the many old clay pots found in the caves and kloofs of the Waterberg. He speculates that there could be many reasons for their existence, including when people fled Mzilikaze (as noted above).⁷¹ Rodgers then moves to comment on the mountains as a “favourable region of safe haven” and the arrival of the first white settlers to the Waterberg, the Van Rooyen family. I quote Rodgers at length:

The Van Rooyens, expecting to be the first settlers in a virgin area – their “promised land” – were rather put out to find the [Coenrad] Buys people [described by Rodgers as the “first coloured settlers”] had beaten them to this paradise and so they set about forming an armed commando to drive this unfortunate little community out of the mountains.

Fortunately for all concerned the Van Rooyens were advised to hold their fire and appeal to the authorities, the police or the army, to deal with the problem.

They could trump up a charge like stock theft, about the only crime that was rife in those early days, and one which Pretoria would take seriously. In due time, the powers-that-be decided to send a posse from the Capital to round up the ‘Basters’, as they were called, but the party took so long to arrive that they found their quarry had fled. (There was excellent hunting on the way up to Waterberg, which no doubt, delayed the posse somewhat).⁷²

This quote is followed by a brief note that the Buys people eventually ended up in Zoutpansberg and then Rodgers moves on to discuss the arduous trek the Van Rooyens made across the Waterberg mountains, their connection to Eugene Marais (a famous Afrikaner poet) and the legacy the family, and also to praise the “valiant brigade of surveyors” that mapped the region and demarcated farms in the 1880s and 1890s.⁷³ Yet this quote demands a closer look. Here we have a memoir by Rodger where he states,

⁷⁰ See my discussion of poor white farmers in the Waterberg in the *Achter die berg* chapter, and the debates around occupier status in the Implements of Destruction chapter.

⁷¹ Rodger, *Waterberg*, 17-19.

⁷² Rodger, *Waterberg*, 20.

⁷³ Rodger, *Waterberg*, 21-22.

“the 20th century is all but gone and the new millennium is at hand. I have the satisfaction of knowing that I have recorded snippets of the past well worth preserving.”⁷⁴ Here we also have a story that recalls and links the notion of a promised land for white settlers with the inconvenient reality of ‘coloured’ people already living in the area. While the resulting armed commando was initially deterred from violence, Rodger relates how it was easy enough to ‘trump up a charge of stock theft’ serious enough to be dealt with. The ensuing ‘posse’ was delayed in pursuing their human ‘quarry’ because they were likely busy hunting animal quarry. Reading this as an example of the ability of white settlers in the late 1800s to manipulate the laws in such a way as to prosecute black Africans and remove them from the land points to one of the key analyses around hunting laws that my dissertation engages.⁷⁵ Reading this as an example of a narrative that imagines the Waterberg for a post-apartheid audience, this quote, framed as it is in relation to the “Vintage Waterberg” of white pioneer farmers like Rodger’s family and others, serves to reinforce the narratives of hunting and settling the land as a foregone conclusion and a measure of progress and development of the farm. The historicism at play in the normativity of such a description across similar literatures (Hunter above, Walker and others below) that links these events with the steady march of ‘progress’ in the establishment of the colonial/apartheid agriculture and livestock farm, and its transformation to the post-apartheid hunting farm, gives a sense of the perpetual nature of the recurrence of the language of race and both the narrative and social position black Africans have been, and remain, relegated to. The dispersed and recurring nature of such

⁷⁴ Rodger, *Waterberg*, ix. After Rodger’s death in 2008, his family published this work.

⁷⁵ See *Achter die berg* and *Implements of Destruction* chapters.

imaginings of the Waterberg persist not only in family histories, but also in the post-apartheid regional conservation histories and literature (see the Blood Lines chapter).

Waterberg Conserved

For those passionate about the Waterberg and conserving its wilderness for the future, the ancient geological and human past is quickly linked to the present. Walker and Bothma state in the opening pages of their introduction to *The Soul of the Waterberg*, “The Waterberg Mountain Range existed through all this and much more, and remains today as a solid testimony to survival and tenacity which also characterizes the people who have come to live there.”⁷⁶ They implied the people here are the white (English and Afrikaner) landowners making their living on in a bushveld landscape more suited to wildlife than to agriculture or livestock.⁷⁷ There is an entire chapter devoted to the life history of Eugene Marais and the way that his work opened up the Waterberg to those willing to venture into such a peripheral land. Walker and Bothma take inspiration from Marais’ poem “Home”:

I know the place
Just where the river starts to race
And where within the murmur of the gorge
The old-time hunters built their forge –
Peace to their souls!
There let me sleep
Where all the wild things peer and peep
With silent footfalls

⁷⁶ Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 14-15.

⁷⁷ It could be argued that the language here is broad enough to include black Africans as well, and indeed particularly Walker’s work with the Lapalala Wilderness School is an effort at involving local black African communities in conservation and development efforts in the region. However, the book is locally published, sold in Vaalwater and likely at the University of Pretoria’s bookstore, and perhaps in Ellisras. The audience is intended to be those people interested in conservation and exploring the beauty of the Waterberg through various forms of ecotourism, including hunting. Aspects of this book may be taught at Lapalala, but in all likelihood this book is generally for a white audience, and about the white figures that shaped the history of the region.

Round my cairn of stone.⁷⁸

Clive Walker, an artist and central conservation figure in the Waterberg co-authored this book with J. de Plessis Bothma who holds the Eugene Marais Chair of Wildlife Management at the University of Pretoria. Their collaboration and resulting book is exemplary of one of the key argument of this dissertation – the close, intricate, and contingent relationship between popular narrative and official discourse and policy. The book, and much of Walker’s sense of purpose in the Waterberg, was inspired by Marais’ same mixture of scientific observation and romantic narrative a century earlier when Marais lived in the Waterberg during the first years of the 1900s.⁷⁹

Walker is a key figure in the Waterberg both for his work in conservation, as well as for his extensive writing and painting. He bridged the social and political realms of hunting and conservation – hunting as a youth, turning to conservation as a ranger, and then founding a series of conservation oriented organizations. These include the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, Endangered Wildlife Trust, the Waterberg Birding and Raptor Group, the Rhino and Elephant Foundation, and the Lapalala Wilderness School. He also served as director of South African National Parks Board and director of the Limpopo Tourism and Parks Board⁸⁰.

⁷⁸ Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 17. The reference to old-time hunters and their forges is to the iron-age societies in this region (Mapungubwe etc.). Walker and Bothma, as well as Taylor et. al. also make references to the San and stone-age legacy so evident in the abundance of engravings and rock art in the area.

⁷⁹ Leon Rousseau, *The Dark Stream: The Story of Eugene N. Marais* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1982). That the Chair for the Wildlife Management department at the University of Pretoria (known historically as a conservative Afrikaner institution) is named after Marais speaks to the continuation of this link. Bothma authored the very influential and highly circulated *Game Ranch Management*, which has to date gone into its 5th edition. This text is the standard for operating game and hunting farms in South Africa and beyond. Marais’ writing on the Waterberg and how it was the last great area for big game in the Transvaal is discussed in the Securing Separation chapter. J. du P. Bothma, *Game Ranch Management* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 2002).

⁸⁰ Sally Antrobus, “Afterward,” in Clive Walker, *Baobab Trails* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media Ltd., 2013), 270-271.

Walker first visited the Waterberg in the early 1970s with the idea of starting a wilderness school for children designed to educate people on the importance of conservations efforts to protect wildlife and ecosystems. His first visit was to the private game reserve Huwi owned at the time by Van Schalkwyk (Huwi is now D’Nyala Nature Reserve, see Hunter above and my introduction) where despite his previous impressions of the Waterberg as “simply a stronghold of the far right and of strong drink,” he was struck by its beauty as “one of the most unspoilt areas in the mountains.”⁸¹ Walker’s hope was to establish his school in partnership with Van Schalkwyk, but they ultimately disagreed on how to set up such a partnership.⁸² Van Schalkwyk went on to realize his dream, as Walker relates it, of “a game farm in an area that prior to the turn of the century had been as Eugene Marais had described and for the next 80 years had been given over to cattle.” From this portrayal of Van Schalkwyk’s perception alone, hunting and trekking literature like that produced by Marais held an import place in and for history and for the purpose of those beginning to establish the first game farms in the Waterberg in the 1970s. Walker recalls that his only other knowledge of the region prior to his first visit was from reading Eugene Marais and his portrayal of the wonders of the Waterberg as a hunting ground of old.⁸³ Walker’s second visit to the Waterberg was in January of 1981 and on invitation from Eric Lundgren to the farm Dubbelwater (double water) which

⁸¹ Clive Walker, *Baobab Trails* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media Ltd., 2013), 220-222. This book is Walker’s autobiography as well as a dedication to 40 years of the work of the Endangered Wildlife Trust, which he founded as a way to raise money and support wildlife conservation efforts across southern Africa.

⁸² Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 222. Walker does not state specifically, but it is likely that this visit was in 1972. He states that he visited again 9 years later, and notes that as January 1981 (225).

⁸³ Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 220. Walker first read Marais’ *Soul of the White Ant*, but here Walker quotes Marais’ *Road to Waterberg* (Marais’ influence is clear, as this chapter of Walker’s book is titled “Waterberg Road”) which I also reference and discuss further in the Securing Separation chapter: The Waterberg for Marais was, “The ideal theatre of manly adventure, of great endeavours and the possibility of princely wealth. Ivory was then what gold and diamonds became afterwards, and stories were told of bold and lucky hunters killing 20 tuskers in one morning - the value of a principality of land in a few hours.” Eugène Marais, *The Road to Waterberg and other essays* (Pretoria, Human & Rousseau, 1972), 10.

Walker's Endangered Wildlife Trust (EWT) would buy from Lundgren and which would serve as the initial location for Lapalala Wilderness School.⁸⁴ Rundgren had been another of the early game farmers in the Waterberg, purchasing his farm in 1967 after years as a professional hunter in Kenya.⁸⁵ Dubbelwater is about 80km north and west of Vaalwater, the only town within the Waterberg mountains. In 1981, when Walker visited, it was "little more than a hamlet."⁸⁶ Walker describes the north Waterberg as "deceptive" (226) and an under-populated "island wilderness" (229) that remained a conservative Afrikaner area. Walker states that during the *Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek* (of the late 1800s), "if the state wanted to get some troublesome citizen out of the way, the solution was to 'give him a farm in the Waterberg,' with the prospect of never seeing him again."⁸⁷ The conservative attitude of the Afrikaners remained in the 1980s as Walker established his school at Lapalala, and where, as an Englishman, he was "reported to be suspiciously

⁸⁴ The farm Dubbelwater is in the New Belgium block of the Waterberg mountains and the upper reaches of the Palala River flow through it (Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 225). Walker's financial partner in the purchase of the farm was Dale Parker, who was related to Eugene Marais. The name Lapalala is adapted from the Tswana name for the Palala River, where Palala is short for Lephalala (228). The area around the nearby town of Ellisras is also known as Lephalale Municipality. In cooperation with neighboring landowners Lapalala has expanded. See my discussion of Lapalala in the Securing Separation and Blood lines chapters.

⁸⁵ Brian Herne writes about Rundgren's hunting exploits in *White Hunters: The Golden Age of African Safaris* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1999). The chapter on Rundgren was titled "The Maharajah of Mayhem" and recounted Rundgren's explosive nature and extensive hunting experience noting, "[a]s a hunter Rundgren packed testosterone in his cartridge belt." Herne (and Walker above, 82) also noted that Rundgren was the godson of the famous East African hunting couple Baron Bror von Blixen-Finecke and Karen Blixen (281). Herne's book is a present day romantic hunting narrative that recounts the exploits of many of the 19th century hunters and draws links across them through to the mid-20th century hunters like Rundgren to exalt the adventurous side of white hunting, as well as conservation (in an Epilogue titled "A Race Against Time"), across east and southern Africa. A fascinating account of the lives of these hunters, Herne's book nonetheless also operates as a recurrence of the tropes of white hunting in black Africa. The cover piece markets the book as "[e]voking the world of big-game hunting before poaching and politics intervened, *White Hunters* is a grand, sweeping adventure story featuring incredible places, animals, and people." Yet the 'incredible' people remain the white hunters, little is said about their black African laborers that accompanied the hunt. I note all this as a way to connect larger global conceptions and receptions/representations of hunting in Africa to the long history of hunters from the 19th century and their exploits which, through Rundgren, resulted in the owning of a game farm in the Waterberg that got sold to become a central wildlife reserve in one of the central hunting regions of the 21st century.

⁸⁶ Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 220.

⁸⁷ Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 230. Walker does not cite the text in quotations here, but this is a sentiment I heard from multiple people, English and Afrikaner, during my fieldwork visits of 2015 and 2017.

friendly with black people” through his work.⁸⁸ He states he “did not come to the Waterberg to be a landowner,” but rather to start his school. The distinction made here is an important one. Designations such as landowner, occupier, poor white, and black African ‘native’/laborer/farmworker were and remain important to the Waterberg as will be examined in the following chapters. By distancing himself from ‘landowners,’ Walker is attempting to depoliticize his conservation education work as separate from questions of land reform in the post-apartheid era within which he writes (and from the history of land appropriation). As a retrospective account of his intentions, it can be gathered from the other chapters in his book which detail his interest in hunting as a youth and subsequent early turn to conservation work, that Walker truly does believe that in some way conservation is necessary for humanity’s sake and that it is beyond politics. However, he does detail the myriad political maneuverings his work with the Endangered Wildlife Trust took over the years. For my purposes here, it is not a question of Walker’s altruistic conservation desires or his efforts to educate youth through the Lapalala Wilderness School. What I find more interesting is the subtle yet significant ways in which the language Walker uses to recollect his work represents the policies and practices of progress through sustainable development practice as assumed and beyond question. This includes his mixed references to local trackers and villagers who even in the 1950s were still relied on for hunting information regarding animal whereabouts,⁸⁹ and later (black African) “quaint villages” that he saw as also in need of preservation alongside “unspoiled landscapes” and “unique cultures.”⁹⁰ This is at times countered by a detailed recounting of the importance of specific lives and communities of black Africans

⁸⁸ Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 231.

⁸⁹ Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 55.

⁹⁰ Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 240.

who were central to his work.⁹¹ In another section when Walker is relating the long history of trade along the East African coast, he refers to Arab traders as, “guided by simple navigational instincts” in order to ply the trade routes of the Indian Ocean.⁹² This type of language, embedded in an effort to recount events as history, and projected alongside his memoir of life as a ranger and conservationist during the height of apartheid, leaves little doubt about the place of black Africans in the larger arc of such a history. That Walker was influenced by the romantic writing of Marais (an important figure in the perception the Waterberg residents have of themselves), as well as educated as a ranger through the hunting narratives of 19th century,⁹³ and that his intent is on educating the youth toward the future, means that Walker’s body of work then becomes a central historical problem for thinking race in the area. As a legacy of his work and of those he has worked alongside, Walker states that, “all the thousands of people who have taken wilderness trails and passed through Lapalala Wilderness School are part of the nation’s tapestry of opinion.”⁹⁴ This tapestry of opinion is inflected with a particular cadence of the racial history embedded in the interplay between hunting narratives and hunting policy in South Africa. The work of Lapalala Wilderness School and other programs like it is not to be discounted for the efforts it makes in the face of post-apartheid economic uncertainty in the area for white farmers and black African

⁹¹ See in particular his biography of Johannes Naari, a ranger who worked for Walker during Walker’s time as a ranger during the 1960s in Bechuanaland’s Tuli Block along the Limpopo River. Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 95, 102-103.

⁹² Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 75.

⁹³ Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 75. Walker’s mentor when learning to become a ranger was a hunter, Hans Bufe. The “embodiment of the heroic mould” of the old hunters and a well known storyteller, Hans instructed him to read two books a week over the course of two years, at which time Walker states, “I had acquired more than a passing knowledge of the great hunters and pioneers of yesteryear.” This is a parallel to the bibliographical work I describe in the After Riders chapter. Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 52. Note here Walker’s use of ‘pioneers of yesteryear,’ which is the title of the chapter in the collection of Marais’ essays that first used the phrase *achter die berg* in print to describe the world beyond the mountains as a paradise.

⁹⁴ Walker, *Baobab Trails*, 241.

communities alike. Yet, as is discussed in the Securing Separation chapter below, efforts at sustainable development in a place like Walker's Waterberg Biosphere Reserve remain unevenly weighted in favor of those who own the land, and they remain white. "The present day Pedi are to be found throughout the region and are vital role players in the Waterberg region."⁹⁵ It is this designation as 'role player' in these popular histories that is my concern. The managerial way in which such language is deployed comes at the end of a paragraph that begins with Mzilikaze's movement through the region. Mention of how the white farmers who, "settled there were hardy people who constantly lived on the edge of survival" directly follow this.⁹⁶ The constellation of positionality and narrative rendering of black Africans in the imagined Waterberg of the post-apartheid remains committed depicting them as marginal, as 'role-players,' and as an afterthought – perpetual after riders (see the following chapters).

Conclusion

Hofmeyr found the regional characteristics of the Waterberg narratives to be expressed through the remoteness of the farm, labor, and agriculture. All of these, however, are connected through hunting, which is (still) the principal activity in the area and which is where my dissertation intervenes. The farming narratives that draw on the post-South African War years of the early 1900s are nostalgic for the pioneer days of the *voortrekkers* and express that spirit in the making of the farm. This spirit of the past was a significant driver of rural politics in the Waterberg, particularly for farmers and

⁹⁵ Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 46. See my discussion of the Lyon study and the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve 'stakeholders' in the Securing Separations chapter.

⁹⁶ Walker and Bothma, *Soul of the Waterberg*, 46. See my discussion of this shift to managerial language in the Securing Separations chapter.

landowners of this time.⁹⁷ Hunting narratives that predated this time were circulating and informed the farm narratives.⁹⁸ Hunter includes a newspaper clipping about *Vier-en-twintig-riviers* (Twenty Four Rivers) stating that the library had over 1,000 books by the 1920s.⁹⁹ It is interesting, that this is also the farm where there was a school, which together with the texts and discourse around the Waterberg are all evidence of an understanding that knowledge, and knowledge production and dissemination, were central to policy making, meaning making throughout the long 20th century my dissertation thinks with. The typological characters being reinforced through white writing were many, but importantly, like the after rider, the *swartskut* (black shot), and the *jagtkaffers* (hunting kaffirs), were figured through the practices of the hunt.¹⁰⁰ In the uneven and limited administrative backwater of the Waterberg bushveld, these characters overlapped, interacted, and lived in an eddy of relative autonomy in the early 20th century that increasingly centered on the farm as the site of order and security through the middle decades of the 1900s, and hunting as a significant practice through which to delimit and counter act such limitations and enact such governance.¹⁰¹ The narrative recurrence of the importance of the pioneering spirit of the farmer continued as well.¹⁰² Yet the storytelling did not end with 1994 and the new South Africa at the turn of the 21st century, as Hofmeyr perceived it did. The resurgence of these narratives in the post-apartheid, as exemplified in narratives such as those of Hunter and Rodgers, is another recurrence. The

⁹⁷ See discussion of J. du Plessis de Beer, *Volksraad* member from the Waterberg, in *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁹⁸ Prolific writers in the early decades of the 20th century such as Eugene Marais and James Percy FitzPatrick were citing hunting narratives from the late 19th century Rider Haggard, William Cornwallis Harris, and Frederick Selous. See *After Riders* chapter.

⁹⁹ Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 127. Mollie Fawcett related the dearth of reading material and her desire for books during her early years in the Waterberg. Hofmeyr, "Turning Region into Narrative," 5.

¹⁰⁰ See *After Riders* and *Achter die berg* chapters.

¹⁰¹ See *Achter die berg* and *Implements of Destruction* chapters.

¹⁰² See *Securing Separation* chapter.

embedded racial language that assumes the positionality of black Africans as ‘role players’ and their historical presence in the area as limited, coupled with the return of the gritty pioneer and the challenges of wresting a wilderness from the degradations of the agricultural and livestock farm (as opposed to the *voortrekkers* who wrested a farm from the wilderness), reinforces the marginal, secondary, position of black Africans. This is, perhaps unwittingly, an afterthought. The logics of sustainable development drive the reordering of the game farm and associated conservation efforts. Attempts to address the continued inequalities along racial lines, or to engage in the politics of hunting as conservation, do not confront the deep racial legacies of hunting, because hunting practices are either supporting evidence, or the assumed ground from which other political, economic, and conservation development arguments are made. This is how the Waterberg is imagined today. I argue this is spurred on by the new dispensation, its attendant racial tensions, and that the role that hunting as a foundationally narrative practice and simultaneously as a progressive development/conservationist ‘green’ practice plays in this resurgence cannot be overlooked. I take this argument up in the Securing Separations chapter and my discussion of the Lyon study on sustainable development in the Waterberg and its connection with the shift in the late 20th century from racial language to managerial language in nature conservation discourse. The Blood Lines chapter then expands this discussion in an analysis of hunting in the post-apartheid by exploring the events surrounding the killing of Cecil the lion.

Chapter 2

After-riders and Afterthoughts: Hunting Narratives and Practices in the Waterberg, 1846-1910

History often reproduces without reference to nationality some particular human type or class which becomes active and predominant for a time, and fades away when its task is finished. It is, however, not utterly lost, for the germ of it lies dormant yet ready to reappear when the exigencies of the moment recall it. The reserve forces of human nature are inexhaustible and inextinguishable.
*A Handbook of the Boer War*¹

The hunter could have been the first "to tell a story" because only hunters knew how to read a coherent sequence of events from the silent (even imperceptible) signs left by their prey.
Carlo Ginzburg²

Jim Casada closed his Foreword to Czech's *An Annotated Bibliography of Big Game Hunting Books* (1999) with the line, "It is a world of wonder, and to sample it through the pages of the books covered here is to realize hunting can be done in print as well off the beaten path."³ Such armchair hunting is what concerns me in this chapter. Casada relishes the romance of these books, the lure of Africa, and how they, "laid what might be described as the literary groundwork for all that followed."⁴ What followed was the expansion of European and American literary and social institutions organized around hunting in Africa such as *The Field*, Rowland Ward record books, and Safari Club International. Casada states further that there has "always been something about sporting pursuits in Africa that transcend any and all economic, social and class barriers."⁵ Notably, race is not mentioned here. I argue that the omission of race in such a comment written in 1999, is precisely the question that these narratives provoke and that needs to

¹ *A Handbook of the Boer War* (London: Gale and Polden Limited, 1910), 1.

² Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes," in *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, eds. Umberto Eco and Thomas Albert Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 89.

³ Kenneth Czech, *An Annotated Bibliography of Big Game Hunting Books 1785 to 1950* (St. Cloud: Lands Edge Press, 1999), Foreword.

⁴ Czech, *An Annotated Bibliography*, Foreword.

⁵ Czech, *An Annotated Bibliography*, Foreword.

be explored. How race, that unstable concept (Jon Soske) and ‘floating signifier’ (Stuart Hall) that both organizes and naturalizes inequality, that is as much a negation of the fully human, as it is a consequence of racism, that is constituted biologically, historically, conceptually, socially, and that “functions through state violence and in embodied experiences” and is “statistically measurable and profoundly subjective ... both a structure of domination and a rich terrain of contest where identities and cultural practices are produced, deployed, nurtured, and disavowed” (Soske) is constituted through its erasure and importantly its particular and marginal inclusion, is the subject of this chapter.⁶ A comment like Casada’s above brings to mind Robin Means and Emily Yochim’s brief entry on the “symbolic annihilation of race,” where they argue that such a concept is,

powerful in that it elucidates exceptionally well the destructive consequences of poor or absent media attention. When using this compelling turn of phrase, scholars must continue to interrogate more broadly how infrequent and inadequate depictions contribute to groups’ social and political efficacy [and effacing?]⁷

I think with Means and Yochim here in arguing that marginal inclusion into the genre of a hunting narrative or travelogue, a discourse that blurs the non-fiction/fictional world, inscribes a social existence of a particular kind. It places the black body in the ‘natural(ized)’ frame of a continuum of progress and development toward civilization that

⁶ Sut Jhally and Stuart Hall, *Race: The Floating Signifier* (Northampton: Media Education Foundation, 1996). Jon Soske, "The Impossible Concept: Settler liberalism, Pan-Africanism, and the language of non-racialism." *African Historical Review* 47, no. 2 (2015): 2-4.

⁷ Robin R. Means and Emily Chivers Yochim, “Symbolic Annihilation,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, eds. Donsbach and Wolfgang (Blackwell Publishing, 2008). Blackwell Reference Online. 20 July 2018

http://www.communicationencyclopedia.com/public/book.html?id=g9781405131995_yr2015_9781405131995. Means and Yochim are drawing on George Gerbner’s comment that, “representation in the fictional world signifies social existence; absence means symbolic annihilation.” George Gerbner, “Violence in television drama: Trends and symbolic functions,” in *Television and social behavior, Vol. 1, Content and control*, eds. G. A. Comstock, & E. Rubinstein (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), 44.

over time has become assumed. In scientific terms, the use of these terms in narratives serves as the ground for further study. If the ground is not analyzed for this type of inscription, it follows that such inscription will continue and accumulate as the narratives are continually called upon to support new versions of the narrative of the African wilderness, landscape, and hunting farm and will repeat and harden concepts of race articulated in and by these spaces. Particular to a hunting discourse, the symbolic annihilation is achieved through the problematic inclusion of the black African body only as the “after rider” among other roles.⁸ I am thinking here about the abstraction of the typical that Baucom articulates as central to naming categories, that Guha argues are inscribed in text in as the prose of counter-insurgency, and which Chamayou sees as categories in need of surveillance and control.⁹ Yet hunting is also about actual annihilation, hunting the poacher and killing the animal. In fact, the pursuit of an animal for annihilation is simultaneously a part of practicing the symbolic annihilation of race through the use/appropriation of the tracker/guide, and/or – by way of claiming the exclusive right to hunt for whites – the exile of the poacher.

Czech says less than Casada on what had compelled him to write his book other than that it had been twenty years since the purchase of his first narrative of hunting in Africa, “thus beginning my long trek down the wondrous literary trails of African big game hunting.” His brief nod to the romanticism of this time quickly hits on the ‘trek’ and the ‘trails’ of hunting, which will be subjects of discussion below.¹⁰ Czech, despite ending his chronology/bibliography in 1950, acknowledges the continued publishing of

⁸ I discuss the term ‘after rider’ in detail below.

⁹ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 40, 43; Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” 59; Chamayou, *Manhunts*.

¹⁰ Czech, *An Annotated Bibliography*, Preface.

these narratives and only stopped including additional works to “fit his timeline”.

Excluding missionary works and ‘potboiler’ books about major explorers like Stanley and Livingstone, Czech’s bibliography extends to over 600 titles spanning the years 1785-1950.¹¹ The voluminous nature of this discourse speaks to its broad dissemination. A work like Czech’s, framed as it is with its Foreword and Preface, mark the recurrence of these narratives as important social markers and events for those interested in hunting in Africa, and highlights the need to interrogate how that discourse has been, and continues to be, produced.

As I argued in my Introduction, Ginzburg suggests that the origin of the narrative may be found in hunting and in the hunter’s practice and experience of translating traces in the landscape into a coherent, plausible story of what has passed, the past. Linking these narrative practices associated with hunting to the development of abstract thought, which converged in the 18th and 19th centuries in textual (re)production, in the natural, medical and other human sciences, and in the development of the capitalist nation/state under the auspices of the Enlightenment,¹² as Ginzburg does, the importance of hunting to the colonial project must be seen as a key frame of analysis. That hunting practices remain a material, sensory experience with the land, but may also be originary to narratives of the past (of what has passed), and thus history, has profound implications for the narrative of the colonial experience in the hunting grounds of the Waterberg farms of colonial South Africa. These narrative practices stemming from hunting that point to a particular past – giving an account of the movement of an animal and the pursuit of it –

¹¹ Czech, *An Annotated Bibliography*, Preface.

¹² I am thinking specifically here of Ian Baucom’s use of capital in *Spectres of the Atlantic* and David Scott’s notions of conscription of categories in *Conscripts of Modernity* and how they make the link between the history/development of capitalism and the production of knowledge, both through concepts and through their dissemination and normalization in literary forms like the novel.

command authority and also establish the authority of certain concepts, narrative meaning, and presumed truths. They imbue the narrator with power and authority, and thus a claim to history, both through his ability to practice hunting successfully, and through his ability to relate the tale.¹³ Yet history emerges problematically as a discipline through categories of modernity that we are conscripted into – a colonial ordering of notions of time, space, past, race, gender, class.¹⁴ The failure to find an entirely alternate historical narrative is representative of the power of the colonial judicial and nationalist discourse and that the empirical cannot be understood outside the discursive.¹⁵ To recover an alternative narrative would be operating precisely within a historical disciplinary practice and order that utilizes categories such as events and evidence to give shape to narrative.¹⁶ Qadri Ismail insists that the critique of history as a discipline must address how language and writing give shape to and condition events in particular ways through narration, which presupposes cause and effect, continuity and change, progress and development often in uncritical ways that preclude other ways of thinking time, space and history, and that does not consider how/that particular *western* forms of narration – like the novel and the hunting narrative – are closely tied to the development and

¹³ Hunting as narrative seems to be read as European by Ginzburg, though the differentiation between ‘European’ and ‘African’ hunting practices and how those categories are conditioned by Enlightenment categories, the state, and western epistemological assumptions is an interesting question to pose for future work. Hunting stories are central tropes in the foundational epics of West Africa (*Sundiata*), as are hunters to the foundation myths, with the power of the hunter to successfully kill and thereby ensure the survival of the community. This survival of the community is also a return to Chamayou’s pastoral manhunts discussed in the Introduction. Further, the ability to tell the story of the hunt and thereby ensure the sociality/purpose of such a violent occupation; West African *griots* are also called *jeli* (= blood!) or *nyamakala* (those who can *kala*=handle *nyama*=power), as those who are able to control the dangerous substance/power of words; wild animals killed by hunters also released *nyama* which the hunter appeased by means of rituals. See also the documentary: *The Great Dance: A Hunter's Story*, Netflix, directed by Craig Foster and Damon Foster (USA: Xive TV, 2000).

¹⁴ Qadri Ismail, “(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India: Amin, Chakrabarty, and the Critique of History,” *Cultural Critique* 68 (Winter 2008): 213. On conscription and its inescapability see David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 21.

¹⁵ Ismail, “(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India,” 234.

¹⁶ Ismail, “(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India,” 218.

naturalization of colonial and capitalist categories, assumptions and unequal relations of knowledge production.¹⁷ Through their evolution into, and distribution through print capital, these travelogues maintained their power, turning their authors alongside explorers, missionaries and geographers into the authoritative historians of the 18th and 19th centuries who presented the world ‘as it was’ and disseminated the ‘truth’ about wild Africa to the world.¹⁸ Yet Ismail reminds us that no story, no history, can be but a ‘story’ of the staging of a history that represents the failure to write history as a truth.¹⁹ Put another way, my examination below explores how race is staged in hunting narratives and the consequences of reading this staging as truth.

While Ginzburg finds the origins of narrative in hunting, philosopher Gregoire Chamayou argues that the origins of racism are to be found in hunting. Specifically in hunting’s relationship to manhunting – a relationship established through connections between the ivory trade, slavery, war, and piracy, as well as through the state’s relationships to its citizens and others, and foundational to the establishment of capitalist relations of production and accumulation.²⁰ Discussing “the fundamental problem of the dialectic of the hunter and the hunted as a political dialectic”, Chamayou asks, “how can one avoid remaining caught in the simple inversion of the relationship of predation, and instead move beyond hunting itself.”²¹ I see Chamayou’s question about moving beyond hunting as a call for a critical inquiry into the central role of the categories and practices of hunting as they relate to the formation of racial identities and subjectivities. Taking

¹⁷ Ismail, “(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India”, 218.

¹⁸ These claims to ‘truth’ fill the Forewords and Prefaces of hunting narratives; see the discussion of *Jock of the Bushveld* and *Commando* below.

¹⁹ Ismail, “(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India”, 239.

²⁰ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 5 and 43.

²¹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 76.

Chamayou, Ginzburg, and Ismail together, with a focus on hunting narratives of the 19th century in the Waterberg, this chapter tracks the processes of racial organization through the narration of hunting – processes unfolding in connection with the political and economic transformation of the Transvaal, as well as with emerging historical disciplinary conventions, in the second half of the 19th century and the ‘new South Africa’ of the early 20th century.

Settler colonial hunters appropriated indigenous practices and knowledge primarily by using Pedi and Tswana people and their knowledge as trackers, guides, and workers in support of settler hunting. R. Gordon Cumming in the 1840s is often noted as one of the first white hunters to move through the region that is now the Transvaal, Botswana and Zimbabwe, but in fact he was, “a newcomer to an old trading nexus that had connected the Kalahari to South Africa for hundreds of years delivering ivory and skin karosses from places as far away as Lake Ngami and areas further west.”²² This ‘old trading nexus’ was, “was essential to symbolising status and authority among these western Tswana” and central to providing both food and cultural materials.²³ The extensive uses that the Tswana of the western Transvaal made of their hunted game have been outlined broadly in four categories – clothing and assorted raiment, tools and implements, weapons, and charms and medicine – with each animal hunted for particular uses.²⁴ Hunting was done in various ways, by snaring, trapping, digging pits, burning veld, and driving game with large parties of men and dogs and the Tswana had an extensive vocabulary for hunting equipment, methods, practices, products, and people,

²² Fred Morton and Robert Hitchcock, “Tswana Hunting: Continuities and Changes in the Transvaal and Kalahari after 1600,” *South African Historical Journal* 66, no. 3 (2014): 431.

²³ Morton and Hitchcock, “Tswana Hunting,” 424 and 426.

²⁴ Morton and Hitchcock, “Tswana Hunting,” 423-424.

evidenced by surviving songs and poems.²⁵ Yet with the arrival of white hunters, the actual hunting practices of Pedi and Tswana were being reconstituted and reorganized²⁶ – through emerging modern notions of nature and ‘the native’ and how they needed to be managed, controlled and preserved – as ‘poaching’ in the settler colonial discourse as early as the 19th century.²⁷ I read the 19th hunting travelogues of southern Africa in order to trace the impact of these texts in the very work they do in constituting the practices of history – read here as both discipline and profession, as well as a way of knowing – helping to establish conventions and methodologies of writing, archiving, and dissemination.²⁸ As I discussed in my Introduction, the absence of representation of non-white Africans points to the limits and impossibilities of articulating and retrieving voices as if they exist (timelessly, in spite of all) in some pure, separate form and to the complicity of historical knowledge production, the authority it conferred and the

²⁵ Morton and Hitchcock, “Tswana Hunting,” 428-430. These pages contain detailed Setswana vocabulary for both hunting practices and the animals hunted. Some of this vocabulary is drawn from poems about Tswana hunting, see for example Isaac Schapera, *Praise Poems of Tswana Chiefs* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1965), 47-48.

²⁶ Morton and Hitchcock note that the dynamic nature of hunting in the 19th century shifted significantly as the influx of white hunters inaugurated a more intense commodification of ivory and game trade products. There was also an increasing diversification of roles and technologies in this hunting industry from trackers, carriers, and drivers, to guns, traps, *schermes* (shooting boxes), and the use of dogs and horses. These dynamics constituted a varied negotiation between groups and individuals navigating this intensified trade. Morton and Hitchcock, “Tswana Hunting,” 431-435. On the significance of the gun in these dynamics, see Clapperton Mavhunga, “Firearms Diffusion, Exotic and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the Lowveld Frontier, South Eastern Zimbabwe, 1870–1920,” *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society* 1, no. 2 (August 2003): 201–32. Mavhunga is writing about the southeastern Lowveld in what is now Zimbabwe, but his discussion falls within the geographic arc of the Limpopo river hunting regions.

²⁷ From the 1850s -1870s in the Transvaal, an increasing amount of legislation was passed to restrict African movement and ownership of guns (see *Achter die berg* chapter below). This was initially a concern of the Transvaal government with security for settlers and communities. At the turn of the 20th century, with the decline of game numbers and a concern for preservation, these restrictions also began to include hunting and, thus, poaching. Not all poachers were African, but the association of Africans with poaching was linked to these restrictions on movement, gun ownership, and fears of war. See Peter Delius, “Migrant Labor and the Pedi, 1840-80,” in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1980), 293-312 and William Kelleher Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power in Colonial South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²⁸ See my discussion of Guha’s “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency” in the Introduction.

destruction it wrought, with colonial forms of government and determinations of social relations.

The Waterberg as Story

In 1987 Isabel Hofmeyr presented a paper at the University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop entitled “Turning Region into Narrative: English Storytelling in the Waterberg”. Hofmeyr’s work incorporated both race and gender in her analysis of language, text, naming, and communication among white English women farmers and provided a way to infer and think through the historical construction of images and understandings of the white settler farmers and the changing relationships between English, Afrikaner, and African communities during the first half of the 20th century.²⁹ Coupled with colonial, state and official policies and procedures aimed at controlling an African population, the practices discussed in these stories illustrate the normative understandings of the rural as black and undeveloped. Through what Premesh Lalu would call their ‘imaginary structures’, Hofmeyr reveals how the texts central to her analysis reveal and construct [make] the perceptions of the rural and the English settler farm.³⁰ As I discussed in my Introduction, her work is significant in that it both looks back to primary source materials for their processes of inscription and the power dynamics involved in their construction, and for the way she foreshadows the postcolonial critique

²⁹ Isabel Hofmeyr, “Turning Region into Narrative: English Storytelling in the Waterberg,” paper presented at The University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop (February 9-14, 1987), 6. Her analysis focuses on a series of unposted letters written by Mary Davidson (Fawsett) in 1900, as well as interviews conducted in 1986 with Lois Baber, near Vaalwater in the central Waterberg, who is in possession of the letters.

³⁰ Hofmeyr expands her analysis of the interaction between text and language in her *We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chieftdom* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993). Here she focuses on the politics of interaction between literacy and oral history between Africans and Afrikaners. She also has a more in-depth analysis of the role that gender plays in oral narrative and literature in mapping (physically and conceptually) the land in a rural setting through the spaces of the farm and the Bantustan.

of the discipline's need to be more attentive to these processes in order to avoid assuming normative categories of land and the rural as given. She notes that the use of the site of the farm, even the term 'farm,' implies much more – family, household, community, region, and nation.³¹ However, Hofmeyr's focus is on early 20th century storytellers on these farms. She limits her engagement with the related genre of hunting travelogues of the second half of the 19th century using them only to provide the historical context for the mythical, legendary remoteness of the Waterberg prior to the time period that is the focus of her investigation.³² Her argument that storytelling is a way to understand formations of a regional identity associated with the Waterberg remains quite relevant.³³ What this chapter will also focus on is the concept of 'training' in hunting narratives, a concept that acknowledges the large literature that demarcates ideas of civilization versus savage, marking out an anthropological and ethnographic foundation of knowledge production that overlaps in terminology from narrative travelogue to fieldwork reports – a training that in turn can help form a regional identity through the dissemination of these narratives.³⁴ However, what is overlooked in previous scholarship is the language, categories, and operations of hunting that are key aspects of the writing of this history in the Waterberg. Thus Hofmeyr notes how the Waterberg was, and continues to be, 'an area seldom visited by academic research' where geology is the most documented feature.

Against this background, this paper can only be tentative and exploratory. It can offer no saturated social and cultural history but can merely provide a broad

³¹ Hofmeyr, "Turning Region into Narrative," 17. This was certainly the case for William MacDonald of the Transvaal Land Board who Hofmeyr cites here when he was recruiting and marketing 'farmers' for 'farms' in the Waterberg and other areas of the Transvaal in 1914.

³² Hofmeyr, "Turning Region into Narrative," 10.

³³ This regional identity is both settler and ethnic – Afrikaner, English, Tswana, Sotho.

³⁴ Training implies teaching and education. Here I am thinking with Goodrich's 'educating attention' and Baucom's 'witness' discussed in the Introduction, as well as in the Securing Separation chapter.

taxonomy of the literature and history of the region and some of their major themes.³⁵

Hofmeyr's assertion here that without a more 'saturated' social history the region 'merely provide[s] a broad taxonomy of the literature and history' fails to recognize and acknowledge the limits and constraints of social history – that while adding to saturation social history does not interrogate the continued operation of the workings of race and their recurrence/accumulation, the incredible way in which language and narrative keep adapting and obscuring the structuring power of race – and points to how her work is partly a product of its time. Hunting and hunting literature have shaped understandings and perceptions of this region. The very limit of this material also provides the basis for understanding how the region has been figured as 'remote' or 'marginal' not just geographically but conceptually and historiographically via an absence of extensive historical research. Usually, the Waterberg remains in the shadowy margins of the Transvaal/Limpopo region that is dominated by the East: historically and academically, the focus is on the Kruger National Park (Jane Carruthers), as is true for many narratives (J. Percy FitzPatrick's *Jock of the Bushveld*). But the Waterberg remains important.³⁶ Though perhaps a backwater of academic interest, it is a region where history continues to be produced, as well as where some of the most intransigent attitudes about race were produced and remain.³⁷ Hofmeyr's work seeks to understand the constitution of the Waterberg as region, but from a particularly white English *farm* rather than Afrikaner and

³⁵ Hofmeyr, "Turning Region into Narrative," 8.

³⁶ *Jock* is discussed in detail below. Carruthers' work and its relation to the Waterberg through her use of J. du Plessis De Beer (*Volksraad* member for Waterberg) at the turn of the 20th century is examined in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

³⁷ Notable recent authors who write about the Waterberg are Clive Walker, Liz Hunter, Lex Rodgers, Eugene Marais. Their books make up a significant portion of contemporary perspective on the Waterberg and are claimed as historical works in their own right. Their texts are discussed in the *Imagining Waterberg* chapter above.

hunting perspective. The centrality of hunting to its history and the importance of hunting to race and narrative underscore that importance.³⁸

The notion of the Waterberg, particularly the North Waterberg, or the ‘real’ Waterberg as described by Hofmeyr, is narrated through references to the natural borders of geography/geology that combine with a particular ecology and habitat for game, and limitations in access for settlement and other human activity because of the presence of deadly tsetse fly and the mountains. Hofmeyr states

This perception of a zone ‘behind’ the mountain has a history going back to the 1850s when early Boer settlers began trickling into the south of the region. At that time its northern parts must have seemed both alluring and dangerous. Its fevers and flies made it one of the last areas in the Transvaal to be colonized, but its vast game resources and later its rumoured mineral deposits made it a place of legend into which many hunters went in the middle decades of the century in search primarily of ivory.³⁹

Thus, Hofmeyr’s assertion that the mythical allure of the region stems from its inaccessibility comes to be defined through the one enterprise that crossed geologic and ecologic boundaries – hunting.⁴⁰

I want to return the focus to the hunting stories in the Waterberg, stories that Hofmeyr uses only to provide historical context, for particular reasons. Hunting is a practice that traverses sites and geography – it is mobile, transitory, extractive and acquisitive – it is ‘unsettled’, whereas the farm (at least conceptually, though not always politically, economically, or socially) is understood to be ‘settled’. This unsettled nature

³⁸ On the regional typologies of South African heritage history and the problem of not engaging the production of previous histories used to build today’s ‘critical heritage’, see Gary Minkley, Ciraj Rassool, and Leslie Witz. “South Africa and the spectacle of public pasts: Heritage, public histories and post anti-apartheid South Africa.” Paper presented at Heritage Disciplines symposium, University of the Western Cape, Oct. 8–9, 2009.

³⁹ Hofmeyr, “Turning Region into Narrative,” 10. Tsetse flies carried trypanosomiasis, or sleeping sickness, that killed countless numbers of horses and cattle, most devastatingly in the 1896 rinderpest, see Pule Phoofolo, “Face to Face with Famine: The BaSotho and the Rinderpest, 1897-1899,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 2 (2003): 503-527.

⁴⁰ See *Imagining Waterberg* above for a discussion of the narrative construction of the region.

of hunting and narratives of hunting have been reduced to a romance myth or legend, most often deployed in discourses on tourism and sport. The ‘farm’ is an interesting space as it relates to hunting. Chamayou comments on the ‘nonproductivity’ of hunting and its essential ‘acquisitive’ nature: “a technology not of production but of acquisition”.⁴¹ Yet game farms today in post-apartheid South Africa are actively producing game for hunting, even if the hunt remains acquisitive for the hunter. As a materialist analysis this raises the possibility for a critique of capitalism that demands a new question: Is hunting/acquisition the quintessential/foundational quality of capitalism (and capitalist forms of accumulation), beginning (Chamayou would argue) with slavery, and therefore with the question of the making of race through/and racism?⁴²

While at first it may seem historicist to return to these hunting narratives as ‘coming first’ in a linear progression of sources pertaining to hunting, these are not just exceptional hero legends. Both the texts and their production are essential to navigating Afrikaner/English/Tswana/Pedi interactions through hunting and are here revisited before an analysis of the accumulation of their categories and reproductions in the 20th century can be undertaken, which are the subjects of subsequent chapters of this dissertation. These stories remain in the historical margins, as context for someone like Hofmeyr, but they are rarely the frame or focus of analysis.⁴³ What I contend is that hunting narratives do not merely make available a myth of wild Africa via a civilization/savage binary literary trope. Instead, they are texts that articulate and initiate the processes that

⁴¹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 5.

⁴² Chamayou, *Manhunts*. The farm and its transition to a hunting farm is discussed further in Implements of Destruction and Securing Separation chapters.

⁴³ This is, broadly speaking, symptomatic of social histories in southern Africa. In East Africa Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006) and John MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) – are exceptions and focus centrally on the social history of hunting.

established practices of unequal racialized economy, trade, labor and land management. This is not to say these narratives are only chronologically or conceptually different texts, or that they are a set of 'preexisting' sources in a teleological linear historical time to be treated the way family archives or oral histories of a farm might be, in an effort to 'fill a historical gap,' though the fact that many of the travelogues that discuss the Waterberg and the Transvaal do predate the establishment of settler-farms is important. The settler-farm and the simultaneous exclusion from the land of African peoples as the point of departure for a proliferation of histories of the rural stands on concepts of race and technologies whose connections to hunting prior to the establishment of farms go unexamined; as do, thinking with Chamayou, the connections to hunting for ivory in the Waterberg and, before that, to hunting for slaves from the interior. The hunting of animals and the hunting of men are not so far removed from the world of a settler farm as may be imagined.

Thus, rather, hunting narratives are a distinctive form of the transmission of a longer history of an iteration of difference through the technologies of destruction and race that are intimately linked to the processes of hunting. These are processes that found an intensified repetition in the formalization and articulation of the farm that Hofmeyr discusses – initially conceived in terms of agriculture and livestock in the early 1900s after the South Africa War (1899-1902), and today reimagined and retooled as game farms. Hunting tales articulate an integrated set of practices that bleed into various aspects of economy, politics, and society. The transcription and dissemination of these stories points to historical practices of meaning making and the creation of imaginary

structures of race; or the creation of racial imaginaries, and a racial ordering of the world as much as they do to the technological practices of hunting.⁴⁴

Hunting Narratives in the Waterberg

Sport and Service in South Africa: The Diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright (1843-1846)

One of the earliest examples of such a hunter's narrative that discusses the Waterberg and surrounding region is the mid-19th century account of Robert Arkwright, *Sport and Service in South Africa: The Diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright 1843-1846*.⁴⁵ This was edited and republished in 1971 by Edward Tabler with the relationship to other hunting texts in mind.⁴⁶ This republishing is another form of narrative – not just the text itself but also the process of its reproduction – and reveals how history and an understanding of settler subjectivities, identities and understandings are made.

Arkwright's audience is a 19th century settler and European public. Tabler's assumed public of 1970s South Africa indicates both the production and reproduction of these narratives throughout the 20th century (see his list of references below) as well as the

⁴⁴ Such an analysis is important due to the economic (Wagner - ivory) or political (Storey – the gun and security) focus of the few academic histories that do engage the northern and western Transvaal in the 19th century. These works lay out important events, but fail to engage with the implications for history of the work of hunting narratives. Roger Wagner, "Zoutpansberg: the dynamics of a hunting frontier, 1848-67," in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1980), 333-337. Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power*. Particularly Storey's chapter "Hunting, Warfare, and Guns along the Northern Frontier, 1795-1868," 78-117.

⁴⁵ Robert Arkwright, *Sport and Service in South Africa: The Diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright 1843-1846*, ed. Edward C. Tabler, (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971).

⁴⁶ Charles H. Arkwright holds the copyright to the Arkwright diary; see Arkwright, *Sport and Service*. Interestingly, Arkwright's diary is not listed in Czech's *Annotated Bibliography*. In part this speaks to perhaps the limited circulation of the 1971 publication, but also to the importance of this local republishing as an effort to return to hunting culturally as something that "can be done in print" as Casada purported in the quote at the opening of this chapter. See the discussion of 'poor man's Africana' as described by Arne Schaefer in the Securing Separations chapter.

particular politics of South Africa in the 1970s, during which time the ‘terrorists’ of the ANC became the hunted.⁴⁷

In his diary about hunting in what is now the western Transvaal and Waterberg area, Arkwright details an elephant hunt where his trackers, ‘by signs shewed us that we were not far off’ and proceeded upon a herd of elephants over 100 strong.⁴⁸ The account of the hunt, ‘burning with excitement’, follows, detailing the valiant horseback hunting of Arkwright, the deployment of dogs, and the mishaps and assistance of trackers and his ‘after-rider.’ An after-rider is, “a mounted man who acted as an assistant hunter, gunbearer, tracker, skinner, etc.”⁴⁹ This particular entry, 22 June 1846, closes with a speculation, invoking an outsiders’ point of view:

It would be a curious sight to a man transported from London to behold the extraordinary scene which such an evening as this presented: under a large tree groups of Kaffirs were squatted round the fire, laughing, talking & singing the scenes of the day; others rushing backwards & forwards to the defunct elephants for fresh supplies of flesh. Oneself cooking a goodly piece of eland’s flesh on a stick, a hungry Kaffir watching attentively, in case any superfluous fat might chance to fall to his share. Other Kaffirs were seen busily employed rubbing themselves with fat & grease, & all seemed delighted with the events of the past day, the Kaffirs from the knowledge of the fact that for the next two days at least they will be able to do nothing but eat & sleep, & the sportsmen with pleasurable sensations in thinking over their good day’s sport & the wonderful events of the last few hours. The huge elephants were lying only some few yards off, & a glorious moon defied a roaring fire to give a better light.⁵⁰

That Arkwright in the 1840s was already speculating about a British audience for his stories, and the detail with which he subsequently places “Kaffirs” in relation to “sportsmen” of course marks the civilized/savage divide that is well known and was to make for best-selling novels in Europe and the US. Yet a look, figuratively, into the

⁴⁷ This is argument is taken up in more detail in the Implements of Destruction and Securing Separation chapters.

⁴⁸ Arkwright, *Sport and Service*, 50-51.

⁴⁹ Arkwright, *Sport and Service*, 22, footnote 58.

⁵⁰ Arkwright, *Sport and Service*, 51.

margins of these stories reveals the positioning of Africans in particular ways that accumulated into the proper means of controlling them as the reaches of government and law extended *achter die berg*⁵¹ (behind the mountain to the remoter highlands to the west of the Waterberg mountains, between the mountains and the Limpopo River) over the coming decades.

In Arkwright's journal, the 'after-rider' provides the most clues to these processes, in part because the after-rider is the most ubiquitous African character for Arkwright, being by his side and part of most of his hunts. The editorial footnote defining after-rider shows how this role is conceived and embodied in one man, often attributing to him all of the tasks associated with hunting, as the quote above attests. However, the recurring theme of hunting for large quantities of 'flesh' in Arkwright's account and the occasional reference to the larger hunting party with the wagons attests to the substantial contingent of people doing the work of inspanning (this translates as to yoke (as oxen to a wagon), but was also understood as breaking camp), outspanning (to unyoke, but also used to mean make camp), cooking, skinning, preserving, reconnaissance, rounding up oxen, retrieving lost horses, and more.⁵² The implications of these functions, performed by many, being distilled into one figure – the after-rider – means that the African laborer who is part of the hunt becomes assumed and normalized. It is helpful to take a closer look at the figure of the after-rider – also to counter this tendency to normalize a single racialized universal and the consequent flattening out of complex historical experiences, subjectivities and activities/abilities/skills into a single concept, the 'after-rider'/native – both linguistically and conceptually. There is the linguistic suggestion of the word 'after' as in lagging,

⁵¹ See discussion in *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁵² The allocation of work loads from hunting expeditions over a century ago do not differ too much from that of today's game farms.

behind, second, not-quite-there, following. This is followed in a similar fashion by associated connections to the word ‘rider’ as in hanging on, addition, and addendum. Together, these two terms refer to one who is following behind the white hunter and doing the work. Thus the practical technical skills of the after-rider are forever grammatically, discursively rendered as afterward, lagging. The after-rider was as much the hunter as the white man, on a horse with gun, yet not ever quite him. The after-rider was necessary to the success of the hunt, but was discursively entered into the production of the hunt as mere labor and instrumentalized and represented to that effect. The accumulation of African skill, knowledge, and work that enables the hunt is subsumed into the racial stereotype of the lazy savage African, here named as ‘the Kaffirs.’ Through the narrator’s voice of ‘his hunt’, it is necessarily the skill of the white hunter, and the savage of the African that emerges explicitly. The ‘real,’ which is the inverse of this, remains obscured.

Recall the quote from Beinart and Coates in my introduction where they state, “the pages of nineteenth-century British imperial literature trumpeted hunting’s value as a training ground for soldiers, a handy transferable skill in the empire-building enterprise”.⁵³ Through such narratives, individuals such as Frederick Selous, R. Gordon Cumming, William Cornwallis Harris and others grew into legend. Selous wrote prolifically, producing no fewer than eight publications on hunting and collecting, mostly in southern Africa but also in the United States.⁵⁴ His *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, published in 1908, compiles notes from over a decade of hunting in

⁵³William Beinart and Peter A. Coates, *Environment and history: the taming of nature in the USA and South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1995), 23. It is important to keep in mind Chamayou’s argument here about the close connections between ivory and trophy hunting, slave hunting, and racial power dynamics of early colonial enterprises in southern Africa. See Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 5 and 43-47.

⁵⁴ Czech only includes five of these in his *Annotated Bibliography* (145-146).

southern Africa. Its publication was encouraged by then US President Theodore Roosevelt, who invited Selous to the White House in 1905, learned of his writings, and authored a Foreword to the book. The convergence in Selous' writing of natural science, hunting practice, and encounters and collaboration with African communities illustrates the interest in, and accumulation of, information from hunting expeditions that was being condensed for public literary and historical consumption at the turn of the 20th century.⁵⁵ Indeed, J.G. Millias (a prolific hunter/naturalist writer himself) penned an extensive biography of Selous in 1919, only two years after Selous' death, which saluted the importance of his work.⁵⁶

However, as Czech's bibliography indicates, there were many more hunters whose paths crisscrossed in the bushveld and whose stories were told and retold to one another to produce such knowledge. And, like Arkwright, these men were often both soldier and hunter. Arkwright comments on one such exchange with R.G. Cumming:

I was awoke about midnight [10th [of February, 1846]] by a waggon coming down the hill...it proved to be Cumming, an old Eton acquaintance of mine. He was returning from a trip into the interior & had been away 14 months; he had had splendid sport & reported he had been farther than any other white man. We at once agreed to pass the whole of the next day where we were, hearing well-told stories of elephants, lions, rhinoceros, giraffes &c. It made us long to be in the wished-for country.⁵⁷

The reference to the idea of penetrating the interior (common in these early hunting narratives) through the phrase "farther than any other white man" is another way to think with the notion of *after-rider*: the 'white man' competition of conquest that erases the presence of 'black man'. Roualeyn Gordon Cumming details his hunting expeditions in a

⁵⁵ Frederick Courtney Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1908), Preface and Foreword.

⁵⁶ J.G. Millias, *The Life of Frederick Courtenay Selous* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1919).

⁵⁷ Arkwright, *Sport and Service*, 27.

two-volume publication of his journals titled *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa* (1850). Like Arkwright, Cumming writes extensively about his hunts with his after-riders, engagements with various African communities, and practices of hunting and its connections to ivory and labor economies. Cumming is but one of the many other figures Arkwright details in his account. The list of references used by Tabler in 1971 to edit Arkwright's journal is instructive here:

- Badminton Library: 'Big Game Shooting'. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894. 2 vols.
- Bain, A.G., 'Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain', ed. Margaret H Lister. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1949.
- Baines, Thomas. 'Journal of Residence in Africa 1842-1853'. ed. R.F. Kennedy. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1961, 1964. 2 vols.
- Cumming, R. Gordon. 'Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa'. London: John Murray, 1850. 2 vols.
- Gordon-Brown, A. (ed.) 'The Narrative of Private Buck Adams, 7th (Princess Royal's) Dragoon Guards'. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1941.
- Hockly, H.E.: 'The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa'. Cape Town: Juta & Co., 1949.
- Livingstone, D.: 'Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence 1841-1856'. Edited by I. Schapera. London: Chatto & Windus, 1961.
- Livingstone, D.: 'David Livingstone Family Letters 1841-1856'. Edited by I. Schapera. London: Chatto & Windus, 1959. 2 vols.
- Moffat, R. and M.: 'Apprenticeship at Kuruman...1820-1828'. Edited by I. Schapera. London: Chatto & Windus, 1951.
- Oswell, W.E.: 'William Cotton Oswell, Hunter and Explorer. The Story of His Life'. London: William Heinemann, 1900. 2 vols.⁵⁸

While this list is not extensive, it is important for three reasons. Firstly it indicates the circulation of people, many names on this list are known well to people familiar with Southern African history, around the region in the 19th century – Arkwright met Bain, Cumming, Moffat, and Livingstone over the course of his two expeditions in three years. Secondly, that they crossed paths in the 'interior', the savage veld country, is of itself interesting and a testament to the importance of the circulation of their stories to

⁵⁸ These texts are listed as 'Principle References' by Tabler. Arkwright, *Sport and Service*, 96. Bain, Gordon-Brown, and Hockly are also missing from Czech's *An Annotated Bibliography*.

emerging understandings of the region's complex interactions through hunting as they became printed texts. Thirdly, related to history as discipline and profession, the editing and (re)publication of these narratives is indicative of how they are drawn upon as history and their authors invoked as historians in their own right. Tabler's list is not simply a cross-reference of literature to review but, read with an eye towards its compilation in the 1970s, is a way to acknowledge the stakes in the production and reproduction of the knowledge contained in these accounts and their importance both to colonialism and apartheid. Minkley, Rassool, and Witz state:

The relationship of this listing process to the inclusion of 'the people' (or the popular) mirrors that of public history and its community popularization – variously and decisively drawn in, listened to, and taken up, in practice, as 'spectators' and 'audiences', while simultaneously apparently including them as 'shared voices' and 'shared authorities'. However, from within the complex of power/ knowledge, it is more important that the national estate is seen to include these 'experiences' and to re-present them as both nationally and representatively inclusive and critical to and part of new forms of citizenship and expressions of governance.⁵⁹

The work of people like Isaac Schapera, the Van Riebeeck Society, and others, in the middle of the 20th century – compiling such lists, publishing and circulating such works – was in large part made up of publishing hunting narratives and trek narratives, and thereby reiterating/establishing the importance of these 'experiences'.⁶⁰ Tabler published and edited Arkwright's journal in 1971, a decade or more later than most of the other pieces he cites. Thus, hunting narratives recur and accumulate, through sponsored publication, in the nation-state imaginary through support of the academy and of societies

⁵⁹ Minkley, Witz and Rassool, "South Africa and the spectacle of public pasts."

⁶⁰ Isaac Schapera's proliferation of authoritative texts on South Africa and Africans coupled with the fact that he was also editing these travelogues/diaries/letters for further dissemination and reprinting is an indicator of the role of historical disciplinary practice in cementing the knowledge and power, as described in these narratives, as history. The discussion of the practices of republishing these narratives and the links to history as a discipline and claims of truth made on the past in the 20th century is taken up further in the larger chapter for the dissertation.

with particular nationalist interests, yet remain grounded in the language of 19th century hunting practices. The re-presenting and recurrence of Arkwright as one example in the constellation of the hunting discourses as part of a national imaginary certainly brings together the white hunters of the 19th century with the intended white audience of the apartheid years as part of a national imagining as Minkley, Rassool and Witz argue. Such republishing also returns the figure of the after rider as a reinforcement of racial ordering within the hunt.⁶¹ The chronological distance between Arkwright's diary and Tabler's publishing included a narrative shift from Arkwright's era of more 'instructional' accounts that enabled an interested hunter to replicate such a hunt, to the more nostalgic hunting accounts of the turn of the century that longed for the good old days of Arkwright and others.⁶² Yet publishing continued unabated and the values associated with civilized/savage, hunter/hunted, predator/prey, and their attendant racial connotations, traveled as well and took on international social/economic/political weight and currency. As a major feature of international sport at the time, hunting literature itself became a financial endeavor – combining pleasure and profit.⁶³ Returning to the quote from Beinart and Coates above, it is instructive to examine these texts through the notion of the 'training' ground that these narratives provided and their connections to a literary and conceptual economy around hunting.

⁶¹ This return and its relation to the farm via hunting is taken up in the Securing Separations chapter.

⁶² See a discussion of this through Jane Carruthers' work in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁶³ Beinart and Coates comment on the financial success of many of these authors, noting specifically that African hunting and adventure books by authors such as James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* series (1827-1841), R.G. Cumming's *The Lion Hunter of South Africa* (1856), Rider Haggard's *She* (1887) and *Ayesha* (1905), Cornwallis Harris's *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* (1839), Frederick Selous' (who wrote prolifically about his hunting adventures from 1881-1907) and Theodore Roosevelt's books (1880s-1900s) on his global hunting adventures sold well internationally. Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*, 79-83. Selous and Roosevelt were good friends and exchanged stories of their hunting expeditions, see Beinart and Coates, 25-27. Other influential novels around the turn of the 20th century were Jack London's *Call of the Wild* (1903) and Edgar Rice Burroughs's *Tarzan of the Apes* (1914).

Jock of the Bushveld (1907)

Cynegetic burlesque:

arises from the contrast between the baseness of the means employed and the grandeur of the style with which they are adorned. A sign of the times: the sole heroic motifs that the colonists still seemed to have at their disposal to ornament their narratives were the high deeds performed by their dogs.⁶⁴

Perhaps most celebrated in southern Africa, the book *Jock of the Bushveld*⁶⁵, nevertheless stands out as one of the most important texts in this regard. My aim in exploring *Jock* is, following Ginzburg and Chamayou's "cynegetic burlesque" above, to trace the minute clues, the casual, seemingly unintentional or chance language and literary forms that mark the assumption and accumulation of categories, concepts and hierarchies of power and race that permeate *Jock* as a hunting narrative. This language has contributed, through repetition and reproduction – *Jock* has never been out of print since it was first published in 1907 – to the normalization and distribution of ideas about the relationship between race and power in the white settler discourses of South Africa.⁶⁶ I draw on Ginzburg's argument that it is the attention to the small details and conventions of language, categorization and classification in writing, particular to a late 19th century epistemology, clues that might go unnoticed by others, that are central to 'diagnosing' the rise of the human sciences, including history, and their increasingly racial grounding.⁶⁷ The figure of the 'driver', like that of the after-rider in Arkwright, embodied for FitzPatrick in Jim, serves as a way to tease out this diagnosis.

Jock is a seminal text in the lore of South Africa. This work is contemporary to Selous' *Reminiscences* (1908) and sits atop the growing mountain of stories from the

⁶⁴ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 73-74.

⁶⁵ J. Percy FitzPatrick, *Jock of the Bushveld* (Cape Town: Penguin Books, 2007 [1907]).

⁶⁶ Recall the normativity of the empty wilderness, ancient nature, and pioneer spirit deployed by post-apartheid texts in *Imagining Waterberg* chapter.

⁶⁷ Ginzburg. "Clues", 81, 88-93.

Transvaal area 60 years on from Arkwright's journal. The stories of *Jock* were initially collected and told for the 'Little People' – for children – as a tale of heroism and romance in the bushveld.⁶⁸ As such they were both entertaining and pedagogical, containing morals about how to live. They also represent pieces of a history and were intended to be as true as the author can remember,

[t]he story belongs to the Little People, and their requirements were defined – 'It must be *all true!* Don't leave out *anything!*' It has been necessary to leave out a great deal; but the other condition has been fully and fairly complied with; for it is a true story from beginning to end.⁶⁹

FitzPatrick states further that the stories were compiled to serve as a "small tribute of remembrance and affection offered at the shrine of the old life and those who made it...for the sake of our native land."⁷⁰ Thus, the story of Jock served (and still serves) as a training ground in understanding the ordering of the world for those who read it, or heard the story told to them, particularly for a white settler colonial audience, an audience making colonial claims to their 'native land'. There are now, today, beacons literally marking the land and the landscape and fixed in stone accompanied by maps where people can follow the 'Jock Route' and trace the steps of the treks. Additionally the Local History Museum in Barberton has some of FitzPatrick's memorabilia on display.⁷¹ These are indicators of the multiple sites where the history of hunting is evoked, both as heritage and academic history in South Africa, a history whose founding subjects and

⁶⁸ I discuss how notions of 'training' of 'little people' remain closely connected to hunting in the Waterberg in the Blood Lines chapter.

⁶⁹ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 3.

⁷⁰ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 3-4. This also recalls Minkley, Rassool, and Witz's argument about the conventions of narrative of popular history as romantic. This is a double-romance, initially that of the hunter-hero of the 19th century literary convention, and secondly that of the colonial and anti-colonial narrative of Romance that seeks to republish this heroic narrative to explain the past (as discussed above). This gets at the truth claims of history as an example of how hunting is entangled with western notions of history. Minkley, Rassool, and Witz, "Spectacle of public pasts," were citing David Scott's *Conscripts of Modernity*.

⁷¹ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 399-404.

categories need careful analysis.⁷² To quote Minkley, Rassool, and Witz, “This means that ‘past-present alignments’ are re-arranged and the national past is stretched to before 1910, so as to ‘stitch it into a history’ rooted in deep ‘indigenous’ time.”⁷³ And further

When they exist as artefacts, they are wrenched from the histories of colonialism, Empire,...to which they were collected [connected], and come to back-project the national past as indigenous. Their particular histories are deprived of their autonomy, as their relics (whether tangible or intangible) are dovetailed into a putative unity of the national past.⁷⁴

Thus, along the lines of Ismail, Minkley, Rassool, and Witz argue there is a need to attend to the production of history if heritage studies are going to be truly ‘critical.’ Therefore the type of ‘training’ and inculcation/instruction/indoctrination into – social, cultural, and historical habits of thought – that is laid down in print in these hunting narratives needs to be addressed.

In a chapter titled ‘Jock’s Schooldays’, FitzPatrick describes how Jock learned some things quickly and other things he did not. These things he learned slowly were things he hated, ‘just as a boy hates extra work in playtime’.⁷⁵ The comparison to the training of schoolboys and dogs as young and energetic and in need of discipline is, on the one hand, a narrative device. He states that ‘dogs are like people’⁷⁶, and indeed, Jock is imbued with a plethora of human characteristics, his intelligence and thought processes are the subject of constant speculation and admiration. However, in both direct and indirect ways, and sometimes explicitly (see below), FitzPatrick is also making the inverse argument that people, particularly black people, are like dogs – non-human. Or,

⁷² This means more effectively engaging disciplinary practice and hierarchies and the need to address issues of new ‘critical heritage studies’ as operating entirely in academic, not as much in the social/popular, sphere. Minkley, Rassool, and Witz, “Spectacle of public pasts.”

⁷³ Minkley, Rassool, and Witz, “Spectacle of public pasts.”

⁷⁴ Minkley, Rassool, and Witz, “Spectacle of public pasts.”

⁷⁵ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 61.

⁷⁶ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 65.

to put it another way, like Jock they have human characteristics but are still more savage animal than civilized human.

As an example of this, in describing a training practice of balancing a piece of meat on Jock's nose and making him wait to eat it, FitzPatrick writes:

It seems unnecessary and even cruel to tantalise a dog in that way; but it was not: it was education, and it was true kindness. It taught him to understand his master and to be obedient, patient and observant; it taught him not to steal; it saved him from much sickness, and perhaps death, by teaching him not to feed on anything he could find; it taught him manners and made it possible for him to live with his master and be treated like a friend.⁷⁷

This language is starkly familiar to, resonant with and typical of the language of colonial and apartheid rule.⁷⁸ It is no coincidence that the training of African 'boys'⁷⁹ is closely related to the practices of hunting and training dogs. In describing Jim, one of his black African 'drivers', FitzPatrick states that Jim was of a 'real fighting Zulu breed', 'not calm', 'too excitable', but 'very loyal'.⁸⁰ Describing Jim's temperament during an exciting story, he states that Jim shouted his 'savage song' in a 'wild frenzy', which was part of the nature of this 'Zulu fighting blood'.⁸¹ To quote more at length:

The fact of the matter is he belonged to another period and other conditions. He was simply a passionate fighting savage and, instead of wearing cast-off clothing of the white man and peacefully driving bullock waggons along a transport road, should have been decked in his savage finery of leopard skin and black ostrich feathers, showing off the powerful bronzed limbs and body all alive with muscle and sharing in some wild war dance; or, equipped with shield and assegais, leading in some murderous fight. Yes, Jim was out of date.⁸²

⁷⁷ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 65.

⁷⁸ See my discussion of this in *Achter die berg* and *Securing Separations* chapters below.

⁷⁹ 'Boy' is a ubiquitous term, used by many whites during colonialism and apartheid to refer to any black male, even if he was an adult. Despite its explicitly negative racial connotations with apartheid, the term remains in use today, particularly on hunting farms in the Waterberg. While not as specific in referencing particular labor (such as the terms 'after-rider' or 'driver'), 'boy' can encompass anyone from a gardener, to a game ranger, to a local government employee, to an indiscriminant group of African men - 'those boys' - oftentimes in the Waterberg seen as poachers.

⁸⁰ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 122-123.

⁸¹ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 125.

⁸² FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 144.

As such, Jim, like other black Africans, needed to be trained. When discussing the punishment of paying out Jim's wages to another driver who did Jim's work while Jim was away in town drinking, FitzPatrick writes, "I knew how he hated the treatment and it helped a little from time to time to keep him right."⁸³ Later, FitzPatrick describes how, "[o]nce, when he had broken bounds and left the waggons, I threatened that if he did it again I would tie him up, since he was *like a dog* that could not be trusted; and I did it." (my emphasis, see above).⁸⁴

However FitzPatrick is not entirely comfortable with this type of treatment/training as acceptable. He at times notes Jim's humanity, his quality, perhaps equality, as a human being – though he simultaneously marks this as an exception – such as when he says that, "He [Jim] was a character and had an individual reputation, which was exceptional in a kaffir."⁸⁵ Though FitzPatrick points out that Jim's exceptional reputation was not necessarily a positive reputation. Additionally, this is tempered at times by language that indicates Jim had some "redeeming" qualities, implying a 'despite' himself. FitzPatrick states, "there was something in Jim himself – something good and fine, something that shone out from time to time through his black skin and battered face as the soul of a *real man* (my emphasis)."⁸⁶ Yet, despite these descriptions, and even FitzPatrick's clear discomfort over the realities of the brutal treatment of Africans, he ultimately takes the side of the 'true story' that he is telling about the logics of race in the *bushveld*. In describing his reaction to a flogging:

⁸³ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 153.

⁸⁴ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 155.

⁸⁵ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 146.

⁸⁶ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 147.

It made me choke: it was the first I knew of such things, and the horror of it was unbearable; but the man who had spoken before – a good man too, straight and strong, and trusted by black and white – said, ‘Sonny, you must not interfere between a man and his boys here; it’s hard sometimes, but we’d not live a day if they didn’t know who was baas.’⁸⁷

This qualified status of blacks as not quite civilized, is resolved for FitzPatrick through the word of a ‘good man’ – the assumption that truth and trust is embodied in the white, straight, strong, male hunter/trekker.⁸⁸ ‘Straight’ was not intended as defining sexual orientation, though with marginal comments about the ‘promiscuous’ nature of having to sleep in close proximity to Africans when sailing and hunting⁸⁹, the generally all male contingent of the hunting party, and the masculine associations of hunting as sport, questions emerge about the formation of the masculinity of white hunters in Africa.⁹⁰

My aim in laying out these particular passages is, recalling Ginzburg, to note that this type of assumed racist binary was also part and parcel of a mode of thought that provided (and still provides) the undercurrent for the more subtle, routine, daily practices of the ordering of hunting, of a space ordered through racial hierarchy and of life on the veld. Think back to the quote above about Jim where, sandwiched in the middle of the

⁸⁷ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 149.

⁸⁸ Such a description is not unique to FitzPatrick’s *Jock*. Sarah Heckford, a rare woman who traded in the Waterberg and surrounding areas, recalls a similar event with one of her drivers Pete, who, “looking hunted like a baboon” was pursued by Boer men and other black Africans who, “round him in a minute those Boers and Hendrick, like hounds round a fox. They tripped him up, they pulled him about and yelped over him. Jan Steen was the foremost. It was a disgusting sight.” Sarah Heckford, *A Lady Trader in the Transvaal* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), 325-327. Again here, Heckford was disgusted by such violence. However her desire to have her black African employees know that she would follow through with the threat of punishment, in order to retain control and order on her farm, demonstrates how control and discipline of black Africans was privileged over the acknowledgement that they were in fact other humans, and not the animals (baboons in this case) to be hunted that they were portrayed to be in this text. In her “Preface,” Heckford stated that she aimed to render a “faithful account of my personal experience” but changing names of people and farms “for obvious reasons.” Even in the 1880s the fear of violence and retaliation over relating some of these stories from the Waterberg kept people from speaking openly. See my discussion of this persisting in the post-apartheid in my Introduction.

⁸⁹ Arkwright, *Sport and Service*, 3 (proximity when sailing) and 49 (proximity when hunting).

⁹⁰ Look to someone like Walter Palmer as an example. Infamously known for killing Cecil the lion in Zimbabwe in 2015, his personal hunting history has been brought to light. The photographs alone speak to a hyper-masculine image of the hunter in the bush/veld/savannah standing over a kill and keeping a record of kills online. See Blood Lines chapter.

descriptors of his physique and ‘savage’ nature, is the understated comment about where his proper position in life should be – “wearing cast-off clothing of the white man and peacefully driving bullock waggons”. This puts Jim in his place – a position of ‘after’ as a second-hand man to the white hunter, ‘peaceful’ and not at war or threatening, doing the work of driving. Conversely, Jim is not doing the writing of the narrative or producing the discourses on hunting. In this tiny description of Jim is found one of those moments where African expertise gets subsumed and, consequently, erased. It is where the narrative works to place the African driver – whose work is a critical function that the entire hunt relies on – discursively as Other.⁹¹ Extended into the margins of this story then, we find ‘boys’ and ‘drivers’ popping up here and there, but they are in the shadows – doing the work of ‘inspanning’ and ‘outspanning’, of cooking, cleaning, tracking. The success of a hunt and a trek is built on the backs of this shadowy, marginal labor, as is the romance of its narration.⁹²

FitzPatrick’s assumption of the embodiment of truth (recall Ismail here) and trust (the peaceful driver) are drawn from his understandings of a previous time and conditions drawn in turn from a reading of earlier hunting travelogues and from his work as a journalist writing his own stories for the *Barberton Herald* and the *Transvaal Mining Journal*. *Jock of the Bushveld* finally became a full manuscript after the prompting of

⁹¹ The word ‘Kaffirs’ today is recognized as overt racist language that can be rejected now, psychologically, as part of a past colonial and apartheid order. However such a dismissal fails to look behind this language to recognize where such radical ordering continues to take place, such as the welfare tone of ‘cast-off clothing’ that crops up in development language. This is discussed in more detail in the *Securing Separation* and *Blood Lines* chapters. Further, this language is still used in the Waterberg by whites to disparage blacks, particularly house/garden labor, as well as to differentiate culturally. For instance, the black three-legged iron pots used for cooking. Afrikaners using them at a braai refer to them as ‘potjie pots’. When referencing the same pot used by domestic labor or school cooks, they are ‘kaffir pots’. Such language was a common occurrence during my fieldwork.

⁹² Recall the discussion of Hunter’s *Pioneer’s of the Waterberg* in *Imagining Waterberg*.

Rudyard Kipling and is modeled after works by Jack London and others.⁹³ This type of literary background can be read as ‘training’ for Fitzpatrick in the languages and categories discussed above. His narrative form was part of a publishing economy capitalizing on the accumulated racial logics of a particular hunting knowledge. The publication of hunting travelogues of the 19th century and the circulation of categories such as the ‘driver’ and ‘after-rider’ (the figures of who and where Africans should be in society), coupled with FitzPatrick’s own travels on hunting and trekking expeditions informed his writing and his work in government.⁹⁴

This circulation of categories, exemplified in a text like *Jock*, was also important for the way they were intricately linked with the technologies of power and work (again, Africans did all the hard labor upon which the hunt depended) that were consolidating these same categories of knowledge and naming in political and legal governance at the time through activities such as the Native Affairs Commission from 1903-1905, the South Africa Native Lands Act of 1913, and publications of The South African Native Races Committee.⁹⁵ FitzPatrick had already brought his literary and government work together when he commented on the Boer practice of using hunting as a means to acquire land, and how the Boers were frustrated when restrictions were put into place by the boundaries laid out for farms in the late 1800s and refusal by English to grant extensions:

It cut into one of the most deeply-rooted habits of the Boer. His method of trek and expansion has been to begin by making small hunting excursions into adjacent native territories, to follow up with grazing his cattle there until he created in his own mind a right by prescription, and then to establish it either by

⁹³ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, front matter.

⁹⁴ FitzPatrick is noted to have crossed paths with others traveling through the northern and western Transvaal on trips to Matabeleland. See D.H. Varley, ed., *The Matabeleland Travel Letters of Marie Lippert 1891*, trans. Eric Rosenthal (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Public Library, 1960) and J. Percy FitzPatrick, *South African Memories* (Cassell, 1932) [published posthumously].

⁹⁵ See *Achter die berg* chapter.

force or else by written agreement, too often imperfectly translated. This was oftentimes varied or supplemented by helping the weaker of two rival chiefs, and so demolishing the power of a tribe. The expulsion of the native followed as a natural result.⁹⁶

The discussion of farms, poor whites, and policy is taken up in more detail in the *Achter die berg* chapter, but I quote at length here to indicate the scope of FitzPatrick's writings moving between narrative and policy as a social commentary, as well as to note how hunting was central to the conceiving of land and ownership and rights. Small hunting excursions were the first practices exercising the power dynamic between white and black on the 'hunting frontier' and served as the pretense for claims to ownership, which would become legal and enforced through expulsion.⁹⁷ *Jock* was first published in 1907. On the heels of the South African War, when talk of Unification and the setting aside of the differences that had separated Afrikaner from English South Africa was swirling, hunting and life on the trail in the bushveld were central to the circulation of information in the Transvaal. The horizons of possibilities for the future were being debated and discussed in these circles and thus the ordering of life on a hunting trek played a key role in framing an understanding of how the future of a province like the Transvaal, or the looming specter of a Union of South Africa, should be ordered. FitzPatrick himself sat on the Transvaal Land Board and in 1899 had written about his experiences in war and hunting in J Percy FitzPatrick, *The Transvaal From Within*.⁹⁸ It is important to note that this *The Transvaal From Within* was initially written in 1896, the time that *Jock* takes

⁹⁶ J. Percy FitzPatrick, *The Transvaal From Within: A Private Record of Public Affairs* (London: William Heinemann, 1900), 41.

⁹⁷ This trajectory was by no means a foregone conclusion, and its particulars are taken up over the arc of the following chapters. That FitzPatrick was already articulating this process in 1900 is a sign of the cynegetic power of hunting, as is quite pointed in its recurrence over the 20th century.

⁹⁸ FitzPatrick, *The Transvaal From Within*.

place, but was delayed from publishing until 1899 due to political concerns of the South African War and the Jameson Raid.

Hunting and War

War, and the ‘hunting’ of one man by another, has always been closely tied to the hunting of animals, drawing as it must on a common technology of the gun, tactics of tracking and pursuit.⁹⁹ For FitzPatrick, there existed a close experiential and narrative relationship between war and hunting. He spent time travelling with hunters along in the western Transvaal and into what is now southern Zimbabwe. Additionally he participated in Transvaal politics during the South African War.¹⁰⁰ In describing war and battles, it is also interesting to note how FitzPatrick narrates the English and Boers differently than the Zulu. The Zulu are ‘wild with lust of blood’ and it is said that the death of the last English soldier at Isandhlwana – a battle that took on mythical proportions in settler colonial imaginations and in colonial historiography – occurred through the treacherous move of creeping up from behind and stabbing the man in the back.¹⁰¹ By contrast, both the English and Boers are, in FitzPatrick’s portrayal, ‘gallant little bands’ of men who ‘moved about with calm face’, caring for the sick and the wounded, fighting to ‘save’ Natal and other areas.¹⁰² I read this careful attention to caring as a sign of the deployment of the civilizing marker of whiteness in contrast to the wild lust of Zulu fighting blood that was said to mark the savagery of non-whiteness. This is more than just the portrayal of an enemy in war as someone who needs to be conceptually rendered as an Other in

⁹⁹ Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power*, 78.

¹⁰⁰ See FitzPatrick, *Transvaal From Within*.

¹⁰¹ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 145.

¹⁰² FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 145.

need of destruction. Instead, this language points to a foundational assumptions that proper conduct and practices in the mechanisms and technologies of war – which could after all be construed as the hunting of men – constituted a ‘civilized’ or white war as opposed to the war against threatening African polities.

Yet whiteness was clearly not a uniform marker of solidarity in the context of the atrocities of the South African War (which included scorched earth tactics and the concentration camps to counter the Commando practices of the Afrikaner war of insurgency). The “‘gallant little bands’ of men” that FitzPatrick describes constitute a reversal of and counter discourse to previous – British – accounts of the English and Boer conflict. The memoir of Deneys Reitz (an Afrikaner soldier who fought in the war), entitled *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War* (1929) lays out another discursive rendering of the conflict between the two white groups, and between them and the Zulu/Africa. As a young Boer boy Reitz learned, “to ride, shoot and swim almost as we could walk”.¹⁰³ His skills acquired on long hunting trips with his father translated easily into war, a transition made easier through childhood memories of visits to his family from Paul Kruger and Piet Joubert. Reitz recalls:

President Kruger and the Commandant-General Piet Joubert came frequently to Bloemfontein on official visits to my father, and we eagerly questioned them and listened to their stories of hunting and of the wars against the natives and the British long ago.¹⁰⁴

Reitz was a protégé of Jan Smuts and served under him in the South African War. Smuts, who authored the Preface to *Commando*, later brought Reitz into service in his government. After prompting Reitz to publish his account, Smuts lauded the book not just as a memoir, but also as a history, stating,

¹⁰³ Deneys Reitz, *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War* (CruGuru, 2008 [1929]), 1.

¹⁰⁴ Reitz, *Commando*, 2.

[I]t is a true story and the facts are often understated rather than exaggerated...such as to make his unvarnished record read like one of pure romance. But there is more here than a record of war adventure. We have not only an unforgettable picture of mobile guerrilla warfare, but also an accurate description of life among the Boer forces.¹⁰⁵

Smuts goes on to detail his plea for Reitz's return from post-war exile in Madagascar. We are told Reitz returned and reconciled to "serve his people under the Union Jack".¹⁰⁶

Thus, like FitzPatrick's *Jock*, there is a story laid out to be 'true', and yet 'read like one of pure romance'. Reitz was 'trained' in the languages and practice of hunting and war.

The particularities in the difference of language that is used to describe one kind of conflict (English v. Afrikaner), and that used to describe another (white v. black) comes through in Reitz, as it does in FitzPatrick and Arkwright.¹⁰⁷ Yet what comes through most overtly in the academic historical work that discusses the northern and western Transvaal and the Waterberg is the white/black racial divide, mediated through the hunt and the gun.¹⁰⁸

Roger Wagner's essay on the Zoutpansberg¹⁰⁹ as a hunting frontier argues that the white communities were centrally concerned with the provision of guns to Africans, the increase of which, it was feared, could lead to war if not properly controlled. However, for the ivory hunting economy, it was essential to have skilled *swart skuts* (black shots) to secure one's profit in the northern hunting areas, which were dominated by tsetse and malaria and which severely tested the endurance and mettle of white hunters.¹¹⁰ The

¹⁰⁵ Reitz, *Commando*, Preface.

¹⁰⁶ Reitz, *Commando*, Preface.

¹⁰⁷ The discussion of the relationship between sport and war is elaborated in more detail in the full chapter for this dissertation.

¹⁰⁸ Wagner, "Zoutpansberg" and Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power* are key examples of this.

¹⁰⁹ Again, the Waterberg was excised from Zoutpansberg as a new district in 1866. Clive Walker and J. du P. Bothma, *The Soul of the Waterberg* (Houghton: African Sky, 2005), 62.

¹¹⁰ Wagner, "Zoutpansberg," 333-337. Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power*, 110. I discuss *swart skut* and similar language in detail in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

moniker *swart skut* is tied closely to the gun, but if thought of as one technical skill of the after-rider employed by the likes of Arkwright, the extent the connection between technical skill (hunting and tracking), coercive control (threat and use of the gun), and capital incentives (the expanding ivory market and cash economy) that drove the hunting industry becomes clearer, as does its racial qualification through the word ‘*swart*’ (black). The *swart skut* becomes another discursive figure, like the after-rider and the driver, that marks the ordering of hunting along racial lines through the appropriation of African expertise, skill, and labor with a simultaneous narrative flourish that renders these figures as secondary Others, the afterthoughts – after riders – of narratives whose authors and texts were then drawn on in the 20th century as History, both popularly and academically, to claim a past.

Narrating Emerging Identities

Increased autonomy and weaponry prompted fears of African rebellion in white communities. William Kelleher Storey quotes David Livingstone at length in a descriptive excerpt from his *South Africa Papers*:

The natives know well their source of power. Guns and ammunition are purchased with great avidity, but concealed with such care, only a small number of Boers have any idea of the mine which may yet be sprung. In solemn council Potgieter issued orders that no trader should be allowed to introduce these weapons, and he thinks his orders are effectual. He might as well have bolted his castle gate with a boiled carrot. Members of his own Council sell arms whenever they can do so with profit. We saw one sell two hundred pounds of gunpowder and a bundle of muskets, and laugh at the folly of his superior. When a musket is by accident discovered in the possession of a native, fearful lest he exposes one of themselves, they eagerly ask, “Did you not get it from a Missionary?”¹¹¹

¹¹¹ David Livingstone, *South Africa Papers*, 14, quoted in Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power*, 111. The reference to Potgieter is to the hunting laws of 1858, which are discussed in detail in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

This is an early example of David Bunn's argument about how early 20th century Afrikaner identity was linked to the farm and to images of the "honest white pioneer."¹¹² This was an identity that centered on rural harmony and racial pride.¹¹³ While his discussion is focused on the Lowveld and Afrikaner relationships to the Kruger National Park, Bunn's analysis importantly draws attention to the role of narrative in history and identity. Bunn argues that the narrative role of retelling family experiences in the park was crucial to notions of the *volk* in the idea an emerging Afrikaner nationalist sense.¹¹⁴ If the Afrikaner narratives of the 1920s and 1930s were drawing upon notions of the settler-farmer and the idea of an 'honest white pioneer', where does the image of this pioneer have its origins? From what conditions was it produced? The honest white farmer is the same figure that FitzPatrick sees as the source of truth and power on the trek, on the hunt, and in relation to the African communities of the area (see above). Bunn notes that the Kruger National Park's counterpart to the 'honest white pioneer' is the 'Shangaan', who like the 'after-rider', the 'driver', and the 'boy', is a figure that encompasses African guards and 'police boys' at the park.¹¹⁵ Shangaan is also used in *Jock* to describe the type of racial and social landscape that Bunn examines.¹¹⁶

Citing Hofmeyr, Bunn argues that the work of recovering authentic trekker narratives was a way of solidifying the image of the Lowveld as a symbol of trekker

¹¹² David Bunn, "An Unnatural State: Tourism, Water & Wildlife Photography in the Early Kruger National Park," in *Social History and African Environments*, eds. W. Beinart and J. McGregor (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), 210.

¹¹³ Bunn, "An Unnatural State", 210.

¹¹⁴ Bunn, "An Unnatural State", 209.

¹¹⁵ Bunn, "An Unnatural State", 214. See also Jane Carruthers, "'Police boys' and poachers: Africans, wildlife protection and national parks, the Transvaal 1902 to 1950," *Koedoe* 36, no. 2 (1993): 11-22. Carruthers notes that 'police boys' never rose to high ranks in policing of Kruger National Park (16), an indication of the understanding in the 1920s and 1930s of the permanent position of black Africans in conceptions of wildlife protection, and hunting/policing (of animals and humans). See *Achter die berg* and *Implements of Destruction* chapters.

¹¹⁶ FitzPatrick, *Jock*, 377.

suffering in the 19th century.¹¹⁷ This shared suffering of and in the past as a mobilizing force for the early 20th century idea of a *volk*, and emergent Afrikaner nationalism, is not confined to Afrikanerdom. In the Waterberg, Hofmeyr's work also points to how English experiences on the farm in the early 20th century, like Afrikaners isolated from much of the 'civilized' world, enabled the imagining of the Waterberg as a unique and bounded region, an identity. The fixing of identity to the space of the farm is central. However the farm as settled marked itself as the counterpoint to the unsettled wild bushveld. In the Lowveld, this 'wild,' in turn, had a long history of preservation, taming and management from the creation of the Sabi Reserve (1898) and its expansion into the Kruger National Park (1926).¹¹⁸ The Waterberg's counterpoint to the established conservation areas such as Kruger and Sabi, was the settled farm (*Achter die berg* chapter), suggestively, the hunting party, and the camp (see *Securing Separation* chapter).

With the (re)publication and increased circulation of hunting narratives over the course of the 20th century, they came to be viewed as a popular, or public, history. In discussing the need to critically engage this type of narrative form, Minkley, Rassool, and Witz state that such a critical engagement, "...is not the verification of a set of facts, or the authentication by virtue of access to the secrets of the archive, but a space where the conventions of source and history are questioned and where the meaning of the historians practice is shifted."¹¹⁹ As colonial and settler texts, hunting narratives became rooted in and an articulation of racism through their need to justify and control their most heinous manipulations and usurpations of African knowledge, and because colonial knowledge is premised on the very notion of the uncivilized Other. While today the egregiously

¹¹⁷ Bunn, "An Unnatural State", 211.

¹¹⁸ See Jane Carruthers' body of work on the Kruger National Park.

¹¹⁹ Minkley, Rassool, Witz, 'Spectacle of public pasts.'

apparent racism of these hunting narratives is clear, this chapter examined how, in part, this was accomplished and persists. These texts continue to influence our thinking today and it is essential to seek the traces of African expertise and knowledge in evidence, sometimes grudgingly or marginally acknowledged by the authors, but mostly buried under the racist language and assumptions we are familiar with and that are now so easily and long discredited. This is necessary as the figure of the hunter re-emerges in the post-apartheid in the Waterberg as an expanding hunting destination, and globally as events such as Walter Palmer's killing of Cecil the lion make international headlines and drive social media protests (see Blood Lines chapter). By paying careful attention to the details of technology and know-how and expertise of hunting, tracking, ecology etc. (which are likely not always white, western, 'civilized') in hunting narratives, this chapter argues that the reading of these traces may enable one to prize apart where and how, in the avalanche of racist/white language and attitude, the African "voice" or expertise is made to disappear – a return to the early and later hunting discourses as sources for the narrative practices that were complicit in this undertaking. In part this might seem to be simply a practice of tracking details embedded in white narratives of hunting in order 'fill a historical gap', or right the record, or rescue history. However, this critique and investigation of history as a way of knowing, and a methodology associated with the 19th century and with certain assumptions (universality, Eurocentrism, narrativity etc.), points to a more complicated relationship to history – hunting as foundational to narrative, racial formations, and to history as a discipline – and to the role of these narratives as they become history and their authors become historians who practice (in both senses of that term) a mode of inscription and emplotment of relational practices along racial lines.

Rather than the recovery of African practices or voices, hunting narratives detail how Africans were incorporated in the work of the hunt and subsumed in its narration, and how that, in turn, came to shape what is thought of or accepted as the history of (South) Africa, and came to feature prominently in the historiography and its critique.

Chapter 3

“Achter die berg”¹: Reservation, Preservation, and the Contingent Establishment of Private Property in the Waterberg, 1846 to 1936

Take a community of Dutchmen of the type of those who defended themselves for fifty years against all the power of Spain at a time when Spain was the greatest power in the world. Intermix with them a strain of those inflexible French Huguenots, who gave up their name and left their country forever at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The product must obviously be one of the most rugged, virile, unconquerable races ever seen upon the face of the earth. Take these formidable people and train them for seven generations in constant warfare against savage men and ferocious beasts, in circumstances in which no weakling could survive; place them so that they acquire skill with weapons and in horsemanship, give them a country which is eminently suited to the tactics of the huntsman, the marksman and the rider. Then, finally, put a fine temper upon their military qualities by a dour fatalistic Old Testament religion and an ardent and consuming patriotism. Combine all these qualities and all these impulses in one individual and you have the modern Boer.
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle²

Nylstroom
27.2.[19]09
Dear Mr. Gorges,

In reference to my conversations re the possibility of erecting a game reserve between the Palala & Magalakwena rivers, I want to make it clear that I am & always have been in favour of creating such reserves so long as they do not interfere in any way with the occupation of the soil by a desirable white population & it is to persons of this description that the Land Department has been and is still granting farms under the Crown Land disposal ordinance in the area referred to. I am afraid that the two objects which I consider so desirable will clash & come into conflict in the end. Therefore it is my duty to consider the most desirable of the two object to be attained i.e. the settlement & development of the soil by a good class of settlers in that area which is so well suited to the purpose.

I would suggest that before taking any further steps in the matter you should see the Minister for Lands and discuss the matter with him.

¹ Eugene Marais described during his childhood knowing “Achter-die-berg” as a paradise of abundant agricultural behind the Magaliesberg mountains north of Pretoria. Writing piece in *Die Vaderland* on 8 July 1933 he stated that the once abundant streams of water from his childhood were drying up from the drought and agriculture was suffering. Eugene Marais, “A Paradise of Yesteryear,” in *The Road to Waterberg and Other Essays* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau Publishers, 1972), 34-40. His invocation of the poor white farmer suffering from these conditions is an important recurrence to keep in mind through this chapter. The phrase “achter die berg” has been adopted by Waterberg residents who live “behind the mountain.”

² Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Great Boer War*. Gutenberg EBook. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3069/3069-h/3069-h.htm#link2HCH0001> (Accessed November 8, 2017), Chapter 1. Note that the modern Boer here is a ‘rider’, not an ‘after rider’.

If both the objects can be attained without clashing I would withdraw any opposition to the scheme, but I do not think that such is possible.
Your Friend,
R. Granville Nicholson³

Hunting for survival and for capital accumulation marked the mid 19th century. This shifted in the 1880s-1890s as game became scarcer and the market and professional hunting industries declined. This time period can also be seen as constituting a shift from hunting for commerce to hunting as an expression/indicator of social status and, according to environmental historian, Jane Carruthers, “[i]t might be suggested that owners of bushveld farms [Waterberg] were an especially privileged group, because it is doubtful whether at this time [1880s-1890s] highveld [central Transvaal districts] landowners possessed very much game on their farms.”⁴ Notably, Carruthers uses the phrase ‘possessed’ here. It implies that she considered landowners *de facto* owners of the game on their property, despite game remaining classified as *res nullius* (literally, nobody’s thing; “a thing which has no owner”).⁵ Considering the intensified development of legal structures designed to give landowners rights to hunt, rights to sue for trespass, and rights to sell game products resulting from the hunt, this perception is not without merit. Further, this moment of being ‘especially privileged’ in regards to both subsistence and capital accumulation is key. Capital accumulation via use of wild life resources and black African hunting labor established a landowning class (or elite class that could

³ R. Granville Nicholson, Nylstroom to Mr. Gorges, Under Colonial Secretary, 27 February 1909, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076, Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, National Archives of South Africa (NASA).

⁴ Jane Carruthers. *Game Protection in the Transvaal 1846 to 1926* (Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1995), 65.

⁵ John Bouvier, *A Law Dictionary, Adapted to the Constitution and Laws of the United States* (1856), <http://www.constitution.org/bouv/bouvier.htm> This is also related closely to *terra nullius* (nobody’s land) notions of empty land (see discussion in Imagining Waterberg chapter) and colonialism in Africa.

afford licenses) many of whom settled the farms in the Waterberg.⁶ D. Fernandes Das Neves, writing in 1879 about his travels through the Transvaal noted,

With the proceeds of their hunting expeditions they began to erect towns in various points of their district, cultivating only what produce was of absolute necessity for their support. They had to employ the greater portion of their time in hunting, because it was only in exchange for such a rich and valuable article of commerce as ivory, that they could obtain in the country they inhabited.⁷

The capital from hunting (and the labor of its after riders) enabled the *voortrekkers* to settle in the Transvaal and those first settlements (Ohrigstad and Schoemansdal) established the first hunting laws in the area to protect their capitalist interests through excluding black Africans (see discussion below). Hunting in the mid-1800s of the Transvaal was foundational to both capital and race, which later would become central to demarcating and settling farms in the late-1800s. These farms were an agricultural and livestock venture whose operational concerns included two large issues – labor and security. The hunting and related laws examined in this chapter provided one way to address those concerns – trespass, gun ownership, squatter/tenant/occupier/owner status, theft provisions, rights of witnesses, statements of truth, and presumption of guilt.

In this chapter I read the constellation of these laws with an eye to landowner rights, winter hunts, and concern for poor whites in the Waterberg of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Keeping the previous After Riders chapter in mind, this chapter focuses more on policy, but with an understanding that there is a close interplay between policy and the social (as read through the popular narrative hunting literature). Firstly this

⁶ Here I am reading the establishment of private land in the Waterberg through Baucom's argument, via Marx, on MCM (Money, Commodity, Money) capital flows. Burgher and British capital accumulation was possible through exploitation of hunting resource commodities, which was only possible through first collaboration with, then exploitation and exiling of, black hunters from the land (empty land theories that supported allocation of survey farms to whites) and labeling their practices and consumption as poaching, or utilizing their labor and skill as a wage earning (not capital accumulating) hunting auxiliary.

⁷ D. Fernandes Das Neves, *A Hunting Expedition to the Transvaal* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1879), 146-147.

chapter articulates a conceptual frame for this reading. I then move on to an analysis of J. du Plessis de Beer (Volksraad member from the Waterberg) via Jane Carruthers' work.⁸ I read Carruthers' work in two ways. As a primary source, Carruthers' provides details on the early game laws, as well as de Beer's (and others) attitudes toward hunting, through her analysis of the *Minutes of the Volksraad* from the 1880s through the 1900s.⁹ As a secondary source, Carruthers' focus on game protection enables a look at the way hunting figures in the historiography of southern African environmental history to which Carruthers remains a key figure. My cut into this is to look specifically at how race and the poor white problem was constituted by hunting as well as how Carruthers' work forms a central aspect of the historiographic trajectory of environmental history within which discussions of hunting and race remain peripheral.¹⁰ The genealogy that Carruthers lays out for hunting legislation shows the contested nature of these laws, their imperial origins, and their connections to race, class, economy, agriculture, politics and belonging. However, as a central feature of organizing private land (she focuses on the creation of reserve and national park land), I argue hunting becomes materially and conceptually inseparable from understandings of race in the Waterberg across three main groups – the market hunters, farmers, and poor white, or destitute, Boers.¹¹ This chapter concludes by discussing the notion of 'returning to the farm' and the Waterberg's relationship to the

⁸ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*. This was Carruthers' doctoral thesis. Her focus is a history of game protection and her arguments lead her through the history of protection efforts that culminated in what is now Kruger National Park.

⁹ I read de Beer through Carruthers because I do not have digital or hard copy access to the *Minutes of the Volksraad*. I came to this part of my argument later in writing and did not have the opportunity to return to the archives in South Africa to locate them. Future work on this project will include obtaining these records.

¹⁰ Returning to Guha from my Introduction, I am reading Carruthers, and de Beer through Carruthers, closely for how the language of a history like Carruthers', when uncritically applied, can unintentionally support official discourse and reinscribe subordinate positions through historical prose.

¹¹ The consequences of this under apartheid rule and its embeddedness in the environmentalist/protectionist projects of the late 20th and early 21st century are explored in subsequent chapters.

land policies of the early decades of 20th century. The pioneering ethic persisted in particular ways in the remote areas of the Waterberg to the point where racial divisions on the ground and within the practice of the hunt were blurred at the time, even while racial divisions were being cemented in the law. Much of this blurring had to do with the lingering economy of hunting in the Waterberg, particularly *achter die berg* (behind the mountain), where government oversight was limited, sustained white settlement and agricultural production on recently demarcated farms was minimal, and the reliance on subsistence hunting and trade in animal products (broadly understood at the time as *biltong* hunting) on both the part of Africans and of (poor) whites continued. In German *achter de berg* also means, behind the times or unsophisticated. This is an important connection to keep in mind as a thread throughout the following chapters as the Waterberg continues to be seen as a backwater area, even to be out of history. Thus capital and its slow but eventual control of hunting regions like the Waterberg through their transformation into agricultural and livestock regions via land ownership were to become the manhunting power of the social order in the hands of the emerging Afrikaner nationalism of the ‘modern Boer’ in the Waterberg (to think with to Conan Doyle’s epigraph above).

On Sovereignty as a Conceptual Frame

I understand claims to sovereignty here to be the actions taken on behalf of the idea of a provincial/state government to establish and maintain its existence. These include the geographic efforts of the surveys undertaken to map the Transvaal and its resources, which ultimately laid out the grid of farms to be allocated to white farmers in

the first decades of the 20th century¹² as well legal efforts like the hunting laws described here which endeavored to lay claim to the land via control over the resources of the hunt. This was also done discursively through the narratives that drew on the *voortrekker* past and notions myths of the empty land and civilizing the savage wilds (see After Riders chapter). To return to the epigraph from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle above, in one paragraph he blends a white European genealogy, divine authority, the image of a wild African interior, the hunting skills necessary to tame it and a sense of ‘patriotism’ that makes the Boer modern. This puts the hunting frontier¹³ of the Waterberg on the vanguard of the idea of the nation and its modernity and also works to place the state as the arbiter of those who are exceptions to being included.

In this chapter I think with this notion of the state of exception. Baucom, following Agamben, argues that the space of the camp (as a military prison) is the state of exception where there is a legal suspension of the law.¹⁴ The notion of the farm, particularly the hunting farm, and its exception from hunting laws that pertain elsewhere, as well as its close connection to captive labor (see discussion below), is precisely such a camp. The state of exception as the first principle of sovereignty¹⁵ is what Chamayou identifies as sovereign power’s claiming of the violent manhunt (Nimrod) to acquire and govern subjects. Chamayou’s exile is Baucom’s slave (subject to the law but rendered outside representation within the state/law), the state of exception, and the space of

¹² Lindsay Frederick Braun, “The cadastre and the colony: surveying, territory, and legibility in the creation of South Africa, c. 1860-1913,” PhD Dissertation (Rutgers, 2008).

¹³ Even for Roger Wagner, the Waterberg remained beyond even the hunting frontier that he examines in “Zoutpansberg: the dynamics of a hunting frontier, 1848-67,” in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1980), 315.

¹⁴ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 185. I discuss the late 20th and early 21st century hunting farm as reflecting/representing the ‘logic of the camp’ via an engagement with Harry Wels’ work in the Blood Lines chapters.

¹⁵ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 186.

exception is the camp, or outside the boundary of sovereign territory. Here the violence of the manhunt as the practice of acquiring slaves – as the physical/material mode of subjection – is the first principle of sovereignty, and is linked to the ‘potential’ for future subjection (physical and/or discursive) which is established through the always present threat that sovereignty claims to impose a state of exception. In exceeding the moment of crisis that calls for a state of exception, the camp exceeds exception through its continual control of daily life. For Baucom this is the prison, but in the context of hunting in South Africa one can think this also as the game reserve, the ‘native’ reserve, and, I would argue, the white settler farm. This sovereign control of daily life on the farm is what hunting laws establish and maintain, going back to the manhunt in relation to the long history of slavery and repeated again through the hunt for potential poachers in the construction and security of the actual hunting camp. It operates via “a demographic code deeply internal to the daily rule of the state of exception.”¹⁶

Sovereign power and sovereignty’s ever present potential for a permanent state of exception point to the always possible, ever present ability of the state to revoke/invoke its power to render subjects/citizens as exceptions to the law – to actualize the ‘camp’ – the space of exception. This implies that the legal and material means to actualize the camp as the space/state of exception are already in existence, or at least are latent or in abeyance, in the form of possibility authored in law or in practice and everyone knows it, so, in the face of the threat, abides by its rules. This is biopolitical governance, as Foucault understands it.¹⁷

¹⁶ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 186-187. Extending this line of argument into the late 20th century is part of my subsequent chapters below.

¹⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality Volume I*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1978), 138. My argument across this dissertation takes up an investigation of what

Capital and globalized bare life as the permanent state of exception is exemplified by the slave, or the ‘native’, black subject as the “embodied *type* of bare life.”¹⁸ Baucom sees a problem with human rights discourse in that it draws on the language of sovereignty (democratic and totalitarian) for its justification. Sovereign power in the 20th century justifies itself via human rights, imposed on and secured for a ‘humanity’ to be militantly policed for its own protection.¹⁹ This is Chamayou’s manhunt as governmentality and the after rider/farmworker/potential poacher as an embodied type specific to the Waterberg is exemplary of how this operates in an evolving practice of apartheid control of black African bodies. It also extends into a post-apartheid discourse of development that takes its directive from the global logics of the sovereign power of seeking to develop the very subject position it relies on to justify its existence and its claim to power (see *Securing Separations* and *Blood Lines* chapters). African historiography, particularly histories such as Carruthers’ on game protection as a witness, and as the counter-discourse to modernity’s subjection of black Africa, was politically necessary for articulating an understanding of the realities of the continuity/perpetuity/stubbornness of white control over environmental resources through national parks. Yet her work was simultaneously complicit in the perpetuation of a language about ‘blacks’ (and the articulation of race that such terminology enables) through environmental protection that underpins her archive and that, again, renders subject positions legible and legitimate in the eyes of sovereign power.²⁰

Mbembe, in an extension of Foucault, calls ‘necropolitics’ which he sees as the power of violence and domination over who can live and die. Achille Mbembe, “Necropolitics,” in *Biopolitics: A Reader*, eds. Timothy Campbell and Adam Sitze (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 161.

¹⁸ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 189-192.

¹⁹ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 192-193

²⁰ Postcolonial history attempts to make this an ‘acknowledged complicity’; Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 183.

The creation of reserves (for wildlife, for Africans) as ‘camps’ (livestock, or present day game, breeding camps – but also the camp as the *outspan*, the rest, the base from which to extend a hunt; also the war camp and the concentration camp) – set aside and demarcated physically, topographically, juridically – is both a product of attempts at sovereign power extending itself over a ‘frontier’ – the ungoverned empty land of the Waterberg – and a continuation of the state of exception as lived daily by those subject to its possibility. In this chapter, I provide a reading of hunting through the game laws in relation to farms and private land, to show how the layers of a unifying sense of whiteness in fact obscured the particular steps taken to at once figure black Africans as legal subjects and simultaneously disavow their ability to claim connection to land and resources via hunting.²¹ I trace the way that hunting as a romantic narrative was coupled with an increasingly economically motivated proscription of hunting for black South Africans to secure the agricultural and cattle interests of a growing number of white settler farmers.

The uncertainty of the white settler presence in the Waterberg of the 19th century stabilized in the first half of the 20th century as whites secured private property and farms even as the mining economy of the Witwatersrand dominated the social and political realm of – as well as discourses about – the urban areas.²² What began as domination through a necessarily racialized manhunt for slaves alongside the hunt for ivory was

²¹ Carruthers argues that the Kruger National Park was used to consolidate white South Africa in the way it, “stress[ed] the common heritage and values which wildlife represented for whites and how these could strengthen national unity.” She notes that poetry, art, and popular literature were central to national identity and she cites *Jock of the Bushveld* here as having “inaugurated this trend” with its publication in 1907. I argue above in the After Riders chapter that *Jock* was actually an accumulation of the movement of a genre, though with the shift toward a romantic past that she mentions earlier. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 173-174, particularly footnote 216 on *Jock of the Bushveld*.

²² The epigraph above from Nicholson, the Waterberg Magistrate, refers to the Crown Land Disposal Ordinance No. 57 of 1903, which was how many white farmers secured their farms. This ordinance is discussed further below.

bolstered by claims to superiority in culture according to pigmentation and solidified within 19th/20th century scientific discourses.²³ It was institutionalized in South Africa via social race laws that, I argue, were forged on the hunting frontier of the Waterberg and the northwestern Transvaal, where the notion of a ‘frontier’ inspired a particularly colonial historical perspective of power and coercion not unlike, but also different to, the colonial historical perspective that had been forged on the ‘frontier’ of the Cape Colony in the Eastern Cape, a perspective and historical experience that has drawn much attention in the historiography on the making of Afrikaner ideology.²⁴ Emphasis is often placed on mining and migrant labor as the place where race was made in South Africa. I argue here that the racial designations that percolated in the rural Waterberg via hunting laws and connected to property and labor were equally as important as emerging spaces of control over black Africans and for the formation of racial/racist ideas and thinking. The demand for and control of farm labor was a tense topic among white farmers and game laws were one of the ways that control of people on private farmland could be realized, though the limitations to achieving that control were many: from vagueness of the laws, to difficulties with enforcement due to a lack of sufficient white men to form patrols and large areas to be patrolled.²⁵

²³ It is important to keep in mind that the manhunt is very literally a hunt for humans and not only a conceptual frame. In the South African Republic of the Transvaal the hunt for white ivory (elephant) was bound up in the hunt for black ivory (slaves) into the second half of the 19th century. Though slavery was outlawed, the hunters in the sparse white settlements of the northern and western Transvaal secured *inboekeling* (apprentices), often black children, as war bounty or booty with ‘export market value’, resulting from fighting with black communities in the hunting regions. Jan C.A. Boeyens, “‘Black Ivory’: The Indenture System and Slavery in Zoutpansberg, 1848-1869,” in *Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labor on the Dutch Frontier*, eds. Elizabeth A. Elredge and Fred Morton (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1994), 187-188.

²⁴ Martin Legassick, “The frontier tradition in South African historiography,” in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1980), 44-79.

²⁵ Boeyens, “Black ivory,” 193-196; Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 331-332.

The conservative racist attitudes that are associated with the white farming community of the Waterberg in the late 20th and early 21st century²⁶ were not always dominant. Indeed the commercial and market hunting industries operating in the Waterberg and other regions of the Transvaal in the 19th century were exploited by both white and black African hunters, often in direct cooperation with one another.²⁷ Evolving technologies of the gun that superseded (though did not eliminate) the use of traps and snares were effectively employed by white and black African hunters to procure animals for ivory, hides, biltong, and other products.²⁸ Cooperation between black African and white settler hunters (*burghers*, *boers*, *bywoners*)²⁹ in the 19th century had much to do with their similar utilization of wildlife for subsistence and in the economy of wildlife products³⁰ In the Waterberg, climate and disease played a significant role in ensuring that the region remained an area relatively sparsely settled by whites.³¹ White hunters susceptible to malaria with horses susceptible to *nagana* (sleeping sickness) via the tsetse fly relied on black hunting auxiliaries to procure game for their trade.³² Such reliance

²⁶ Allister Sparks writes about the Waterberg area in the 1980s as, “the heart of the most reactionary community of white racists in the whole of South Africa.” Allister Sparks, *Tomorrow Is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Road to Change* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 103. See further discussion of this as part of the setting for the *boseberade* in my Introduction.

²⁷ Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 321; Boeyens, “Black ivory,” 195 and 206.

²⁸ Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power*, 93-94.

²⁹ A *burgher* was an Afrikaans citizen of the Boer Republic and as a male also a civilian member of the commando (local militia). A *boer*, derived from the Dutch word for farmer, was an Afrikaner descended from the Dutch and French Huguenot populations that arrived in the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th century (see Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s colorful epigraph above). Under apartheid *boer* also stood for an Afrikaner member of the police and security forces. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com> search for burgher and boer. A *bywoner* was a laborer or farmer working someone else’s land. <https://www.merriam-webster.com> search for bywoner. It is related to sharecropping and squatting, but with different legal definitions in South Africa. *Bywoner* would usually be considered a white person, where a squatter would be considered a black African.

³⁰ Fred Morton and Robert Hitchcock, “Tswana Hunting: Continuities and Changes in the Transvaal and Kalahari after 1600,” *South African Historical Journal* 66, no. 3 (2014): 418-439.

³¹ See *Imagining Waterberg* chapter.

³² Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 20. Carruthers includes the terms *zwarteskutters* (black shots) and *jagtkaffers* (hunting kaffirs), as the black auxiliaries were called in Afrikaans. Black auxiliaries were groups of black Africans contracted to hunt with or on behalf of white hunters and traders. They were

intensified as the decades of the 19th century wore on and game became scarcer.³³ While this cooperation did not necessarily imply equivalence in perceptions of socio-political status, it dislocated and complicated any clear white/black social/racial division (such as that associated with apartheid) in the region at the time.³⁴

Certainly efforts at control and allocation of resources are complexly developed through the interaction of evolving concepts of protection, conservation, preservation, game, wilderness, and civilization.³⁵ Yet, instead of seeing the human desire for power and dominance as projected on animals through a protection discourse³⁶, I argue that power and domination are precisely a product of the relationship between human and animal constituted in particular ways through hunting, and human and human, where the human to human relationship is foundationally racial though by no means stable in understanding or practice. I see the racial workings of the hunt in the very fabric of social organization that has often been assumed rather than critically investigated/problematicized and historicized as part of the analyses of commercialization, destruction, and subsequent efforts at protection for wildlife and the protection of hunting as a white practice. The Transvaal is indeed unique because wildlife was central to black African, Afrikaner, and British interests amid massive social change.³⁷ Where Carruthers' finds this uniqueness

armed, supposedly with limits on the use and return of the weapons, and played an integral role in the hunting economy. The most documented example of this is in the Schoemansdal area discussed by Wagner in his 'Zoutpansberg: the dynamics of a hunting frontier'. See also Sidney Miller, *A Frontier Town: Schoemansdal or Zoutpansbergdorp the forgotten Boer Town 1848-1867* (Independently Published, 2018).

³³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 20.

³⁴ This can be read between the lines in the narratives discussed in After Riders chapter above, but is submerged in the largely absent descriptions of black Africans apart from those individuals whose presentation becomes that of the type/typical – the After Rider. This is not unlike the cooperation between French fur traders and indigenous Native American hunters on the Canadian/American frontier in Minnesota. It is here also that it is the spread of agriculture, and its desire for land, that determines new racial relationships.

³⁵ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 4-5.

³⁶ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 6.

³⁷ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 9-10.

linked to protection, reserves, and national parks, I focus on the consequences for private land, and the consequences of the privatization of land. Carruthers looks to white hunters and white game protectionists because they enabled both destruction and protection of animals and dispossession of black Africans in the making of game reserves and national parks. I look at how race and the hunt structured this – how it was racist control via the very practices of the hunt and the notion of the manhunt that was central to the making of racial difference and power. It is not just that ‘more rigid social stratification’ impacted opinion and policy, but that racial difference was articulated, framed, and given shape in opinion and policy on hunting to inform and produce stratification.³⁸ My concern here is not with delineating a black African resistance narrative to the consolidation of white power through the farms, but instead to look at the way the hunt was central in organizing white attempts to exert power as evidenced in how the Waterberg was written into existence through overlapping narrative and legal discourses. In light of the present shift in the hunting industry to private ownership of game and the renewed racial tensions on farms in the post-apartheid era, a work like Carruthers’ both provides crucial insight into the history of hunting laws of the Transvaal as well as invites and opens up possibilities for asking questions around how race and hunting were and continue to be figured politically and disciplinarily to inform practice and policy, particularly developmental and environmental policy.

Hunting Laws

The hunting laws of the 1840s-1870s provided some regulation and protection but this was limited in scope and enforcement due to a sparse white population as well as the

³⁸ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 10.

continued understanding of “nature as a lucrative commodity” that was both material and emotional/spiritual.³⁹ Hunting dominated frontier life of the 1850s and its economy dominated social relations.⁴⁰

The Ohrigstad game law of 1846 was the first game law in the South African Republic of the Transvaal⁴¹ and was concerned with waste and over-exploitation of game as a more robust wildlife economy for whites emerged, an economy (not necessarily its products) that subsequently needed to be protected.⁴² This economy was particular to *voortrekker* settlers in the Transvaal and thus the law restricted hunting to “*niemand buiten onze maatschappij*” in an effort to limit visiting white sport hunters.⁴³ From the outset of legal attempts to delineate hunting and access to game in the Transvaal, concern was with securing the white economy and society.⁴⁴ At the same time, with largely black Africans living in remote tsetse areas, the second half of the 19th century was a time of

³⁹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 43.

⁴⁰ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 23.

⁴¹ This is referred to as the Ohrigstad law because it was enacted by the *Raad* (body of leaders) of the Ohrigstad town settlement in the Transvaal.

⁴² Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 17. Thus distinction was made between elephant and rhino capital accumulation (ivory, horns, hides) vs. subsistence use. Though any further definition of the usefulness of game was not pursued. The differentiation between ‘game’ laws and ‘hunting’ laws was quite fluid. The Ohrigstad law was written in the language of preventing excessive destruction of game, whereas the 1878 law, the *Jagwet* (hunting law) used ‘hunt’ in the title, but then in 1905 the law became titled the Game Protection Ordinance. Yet all of the laws articulate ‘game protection’ through the specific organizing and monitoring of hunting. These laws eventually came under the heading of the Nature Conservation Ordinance in the 1960s (see Securing Separation chapter).

⁴³ This translates to “no-one outside of our community,” Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 17. Carruthers here is citing the Minutes of the Volksraad of Andries Ohrigstad, Article 3, 21 January 1846: SAAR, vol. 1, p.29. This was about social protection and expanding control over the economy of the frontier, although such control proved elusive due to the vastness of land covered by a limited white population. This was more acute in regions like the Waterberg affected by tsetse and its relative inaccessibility (Carruthers, 18-19). The South African Republic had little cohesion and was made up of communities of hunters, traders, and settlers. See Miller, *A Frontier Town*, 13; Stanley Trapido, “Landlord and Tenant in a Colonial Economy: The Transvaal 1880-1910,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 5, no. 1, (October 1978): 26.

⁴⁴ Carruthers cites Kimball *The Market Hunter* (i) to state that market hunting can only be an economic base for a “brief stage of a country’s maturation, requiring both markets and primitive wilderness” (Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 20) This perhaps held true through the late 20th century, that is until the establishment of private ownership of game and private hunting industry of 21st century. The avenues of assumed development through national ‘maturation’, and markets, and the production of ‘primitive wilderness’ had yet to be imagined, though the groundwork for them was being laid.

collaboration in hunting efforts and fluid social division that was not as racially defined and in which Boer hunting parties relied on “zwarteskutters” or “swarte skuts” (black shots) or “jagtkaffers” (hunting kaffirs), as black auxiliaries⁴⁵ to hunt with and for them to supply the markets.⁴⁶

From 1858 (when the first comprehensive hunting law was passed) through 1881 (when the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek*, the South African Republic, also referred to as the ZAR, regained independence from the British after Transvaal War), wildlife was seen as an economic resource and, according to Carruthers, “[a]s a result, most of the changes in attitude were subtle, exploratory and uncertain in nature, the precursors of more definite attitudes which were to crystallize only in later years.”⁴⁷ This subtlety extended to social relations and particularly race, where hunting law, narratives, and practice, and the exploratory and fluid interactions on the hunting frontier shaped understandings of social division.⁴⁸ Further, if read alongside the increased capitalization of the hunting and

⁴⁵ Black auxiliaries was the term given to groups of black African men used in hunting as well as raiding/control of other African populations. The hunting narratives discussed in the After Riders chapter are filled with descriptions of the large contingent of black Africans that accompanied hunts. While auxiliary technically would refer to all black Africans on the hunt, it was primarily used to describe those that were armed with guns. Wagner cites hundred of such men used by the Portuguese Vice-Consul Joao Albasini in the Zoutpansberg. Wagner also argues they acted as a local militia. Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 325.

⁴⁶ See Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 324. Schoemandsdal was a hunting town, *jachtergemeenskap*, located north and east of the Waterberg, on the edge of the tsetse fly zone to the north and west where ivory was still plentiful, and on the northern edge of the southern Highveld that was seeing its game numbers rapidly deplete. Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 313-318. Wagner also argues that introduction of firearms into the hunt and subsequent concerns over security by the white population were important to understanding the tense and tenuous racial relationships at the time. Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 333. See also D.F. Das Neves. *A Hunting Expedition to the Transvaal* (London, 1879); and Sidney Miller, *A Frontier Town*.

⁴⁷ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 25.

⁴⁸ Charles van Onselen refers to this process of social exchange as ‘cultural osmosis’ and argues that the site of the farm - where whites, often poor, worked and lived side by side with black Africans - was the key space of this exchange. Van Onselen’s research was located in the western Transvaal, now North West province, closer to the urban centers of Johannesburg and Pretoria and the mining industries of the Rand and connected closely to debates on migrant labor. Yet, his emphasis on the importance of the farm for understanding race relations informs my turn to the farm in the hunting regions of the Waterberg. Charles Van Onselen, “Race and Class in the South African Countryside: Cultural Osmosis and Social Relations in

then the farming economy and the exercise of political power supported by scientific and academic disciplinary power, this ‘crystallization’ was in fact an accumulation that remained layered. I am reading layered in Chamayou’s chronogeography sense as I discussed in my Introduction, where patterned normative behavior thickens the lines along which that behavior operates.⁴⁹ Rather than the digital mapping though, here I am interested in the discursive layering and mapping that recurs in hunting and thickens the positionality of whites and black Africans.

The 1858 hunting law titled “*Wet tot het beter regelen van de jagt op olifanten en ander wild in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*,” or *Jagwet* (Hunting Law) 1858,⁵⁰ was centrally concerned with the economy and security of whites by way of controlling the hunting activities of black Africans - control of black African hunting rather than the prevention of the overkilling of game by whites.⁵¹ Indeed, “[t]hirteen of the nineteen articles in the law related to black auxiliaries.”⁵² Carruthers uses the term ‘black’ throughout her text without a framing of why she uses it, yet she does give careful attention to defining protection, conservation, preservation, game, wild, wilderness,

the Sharecropping Economy of the South Western Transvaal, 1900-1950,” *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (February 1990): 99-123.

⁴⁹ Grégoire Chamayou, “Patterns of Life: A Very Short History of Schematic Bodies,” *The Funambulist Papers* 57 (December 4, 2014). https://thefunambulist.net/history/the-funambulist-papers-57-schematic-bodies-notes-on-a-patterns-genealogy-by-gregoire-chamayou#_ftn52.

⁵⁰ Full text of the law can be found in F. Jeppe and J.G. Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten der Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek 1849-1885* (Pretoria, 1887), 106-109. Carruthers translates the title as “Law for the improved regulation of the hunting of elephant and other wild animals in the South African Republic” (Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 25). This law was also referred to as the Schoeman law, because they were enacted by the leaders of Schoemansdal in the Zoutpansberg. Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 331-332. Stephanus Schoeman was elected commandant general of Zoutpansberg in 1855 and after whom Schoemansdal was renamed. Liezl Wildenboer, “Schoemansdal: Law and Justice on the Frontier,” *Fundamina* 19, no. 2 (2013): 447.

⁵¹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 25-26.

⁵² Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 26. In a footnote to this quote, Carruthers states, “This can perhaps be seen as an early attempt to regulate the movement of blacks in the Transvaal.” I argue it was not ‘perhaps’, but *certainly* was an early attempt at regulating black African movement and this only continued with the subsequent iterations of the game laws. Carruthers, 26 footnote 6.

civilization (5).⁵³ This difference in emphasis on terms indicates the disciplinary focus on protection and ecology instead of race in her work, as well as the trajectory of environmental histories more broadly. The hunting laws, archival records, and narratives variously use *gekleurd* (coloured), native, *kaffir* (*kaffer*), *zwart(e)*, non-white and other variations. Unless quoting directly, I will use black African as outlined in my introduction.

Articles 2-5 dictated that no black African man – the law uses the word ‘*zwarte*’ (the Dutch word for black), as well as *kaffir* and *kleurlingen* (coloured) – could hunt elephant without a white man present, that all black African men needed to be registered with the *Landdrost* (the local administrator), that black African hunters who strayed during the hunt needed to return to their white master by evening, and that a hunter could only bring two *zwarteschutters* into the veld with him.⁵⁴ Article 8 enumerated the details to be taken down of each black employed on the hunt, though the language changed slightly; sub-section ‘d’ asks for the “*naam van den gekleurden schutter*” (name of the coloured ‘shooter’). This in contrast to the “*naam van den jagter*” (name of the ‘hunter’) required in sub-section ‘c’. What is clear here is that ‘hunters’ are white, black Africans are ‘shooters.’⁵⁵ Article 10 did allow for black Africans to hunt game alone as a *getrouwe dienstboden* (trusted servant) of a white master as long as they were in possession of a pass detailing the specific time of the hunt, game to be hunted, and guns and ammunition to be used.⁵⁶ Black Africans found in possession of guns, but without a pass, were subject to fines and imprisonment (article 11) though they were protected if a white hunter sent

⁵³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 5.

⁵⁴ Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 107.

⁵⁵ Other details required in registering black Africans for a hunt were probable age, tribe, and physical description, along with details of the hunt to be undertaken. Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 108.

⁵⁶ Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 108.

them out without providing a pass (article 12). However, guns were strictly the property of whites and it was forbidden to sell, give, gift, or entrust guns to black Africans (article 13). In a slight but significant departure from such stringent prohibitions, hunting was allowed on Sogomo and Mazelikatse's (Mzilikaze) land without written permission in the form of a pass (article 14) and *onnoodig geweld* (unnecessary violence) against black Africans was subject to punishment (article 15).⁵⁷ However the use of *onnoodig* here implies that some form and measure of violence toward black Africans was acceptable and thus subjective in the eyes of anyone who might prosecute such an offense.

Recall that the title of this law was about the improved regulation of hunting and the preface of the law stated that this was needed due to the high number of whites dying from yellow fever and other fevers (malaria) during summer hunts, as well as due to the reckless destruction of game.⁵⁸ Yet only two articles actually dealt with protection by setting a season for when whites could travel to the hunting-veld in search of elephants (article 1) and by stating that no one should hunt more game than they needed for consumption (article 9).⁵⁹ Improved hunting and protection of game was figured as necessary for the protection of white survival and economy through proscriptive regulation of black Africans.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 109. Sogomo and Mazelikatse were black African chiefs whose communities were intricately involved in the hunting industry of Scheomansdal. See Wagner, "Zoutpansberg" and Miller, *A Frontier Town*. See my discussion of the variations on the spelling of Mzilikaze and its transformation into 'Seleka' in the Imagining Waterberg chapter.

⁵⁸ Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 107. The law does not specify who was responsible for the destruction of game, though it was both white hunters and black African hunter auxiliaries. It was the culmination and consequence of the decades of extensive unrestricted hunting throughout the region, documented in the narratives discussed in the After Riders chapter above.

⁵⁹ Elephant was hunted for ivory and not just for the pot by white hunters (smaller game was hunted for the pot), though meat of the elephant was used feed the black Africans who accompanied the hunt – the after riders, trackers, carriers, cooks, drivers, etc. The feast after an elephant hunt is a common description in many of the hunting narratives. See the After Riders chapter.

⁶⁰ The opening of the law states in part "the reckless destruction of game in many regions of this Republic has caused such a scarcity of it that many needy residents of this Republic will almost have to suffer from

Wagner notes that the Schoeman laws were later iterations of the extant Ohrigstad law that allowed limited black use of guns for protection on the hunt and that these laws both enabled extending the ivory trade into areas dominated by tsetse⁶¹ and enabled these armed *swarte skuts* to subsequently control their hunting grounds, restrict white access, and reassert political power.⁶² While Boer settlers retained control over “*skietgoed* (guns and ammunition)” and other supplies of the hunt, black Africans in the Schoemansdal region regained control over the labor of the hunt during the 1840s-1860s.⁶³ In Schoemansdal in the Zoutpansberg, African labor was regarded as either *dienstdoende kaffers* (doing service) or *opgaaf kaffers* (rendering tribute) where tribute took the form of ivory and other game products, livestock, and agriculture produce.⁶⁴ It has been argued

that discomfort.” Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 106 (my translation). I read this suffering as both economic and social and an early iteration of concern with what would become the ‘poor white problem’ that was the subject of de Beer’s arguments from the Waterberg regarding hunting rights for whites (see below). In practice this was not abided by or easily enforced and in fact many petitions were sent to the *Volksraad* indicating how such restriction hurt the hunting economy for whites. Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 331-332.

⁶¹ Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 335.

⁶² Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 336-337.

⁶³ Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 336-337. There were various forms of black African labor bound up in the hunt. Though I found no records or accounts by any of these *swarte skuts*, I argue their importance to the successful hunt can be gleaned from the narratives discussed in the After Riders chapter. In the post-apartheid era similar narratives are beginning to be recorded in connection to hunting and war, and to game protection in reserves and national parks. See the discussion on Sisingi as a *koevoet* tracker in the Securing Separation chapter. Wagner identifies “tribute labor and apprentices,” though the term apprentice was often a label obscuring indentured servitude and slavery and notes, “African apprentices, or *inboekselings*, were formally those African children ‘orphaned’ and subsequently ‘rescued’ by a Boer commando: slavery as such was strictly forbidden.” (Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 332) The Boer ‘commando’ was the banding together of armed white men of a town or region for protection, war, and raiding. The term commando remains both a noun related to war for a group of soldiers, as well as a verb – *op commando* – or to be ‘on commando’, on patrol, searching/hunting for an enemy. It is also used in contemporary discussions around anti-poaching groups and efforts. While technically illegal, this *zwarte ivoor* (black ivory) was traded and transported regularly until 1870 and partially authorized under the 1851 Apprentice Act. See Boeyens, “Black Ivory,” 187-193. The decline of the indenture system and slavery was due to the “burger exodus from Zouthpansberg” (Boeyens, “Black Ivory,” 193), which was marked by the abandonment of Schoemansdal in 1867 and the “Sekhukhune Wars” of the 1870s, Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 317.

⁶⁴ Boeyens, “Black Ivory,” 195; Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 333.

that, “the majority of African children...were abducted during military clashes with African groups who were expected to pay *opgaaf*.”⁶⁵

The connections between hunting, war, and labor here are thick with tangled threads of economics, social control, and social protection. The notion of an “open” frontier⁶⁶ in South Africa has been up for debate since the 1970s, and it remains that, “the stereotype of the non-white as enemy...does not seem to be explicitly a frontier product.”⁶⁷ Yet, to speak of a ‘hunting frontier,’ as Wagner does, enables a look at the way the non-white as enemy is constituted in a particular way through hunting.⁶⁸ The hunting laws became central to how social division on the farms via race, hierarchy, and exclusion from certain rights to game and land was constructed. Trade in ivory and people, as well as the uniting force of the gun through the hunt and war, have the common thread of capital and power. Returning to Chamayou’s argument about how hunting and the state are intimately connected, I am arguing here that manhunting, ivory hunting, market hunting, subsistence hunting all converged in efforts to stake claims to power through hunting laws. Apprenticeship on farms in the Transvaal was paternalistically represented as intended to teach black Africans farming methods and provide white farmers with sufficient labor.⁶⁹ In areas more remote to white settlement

⁶⁵ Boeyens, “Black Ivory,” 195.

⁶⁶ Hermann Giliomee, “The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812,” in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, eds. Herman Giliomee and Richard Elphick (London: Longman, 1989), 426-427. See also, Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, “Introduction,” in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1980), 8-9.

⁶⁷ Legassick, “The frontier tradition in South African historiography,” 67.

⁶⁸ Bunn makes an important contribution to how black Africans get figured as enemies through the operations of Kruger National Park and enforcing its borders and placing black Africans as game guards. Bunn, “An Unnatural State,” Carruthers’, while noting black African dispossession and displacement as the park came into being, does not enter into an analysis of race as figured through a park, or in my argument through hunting, but rather positions race as simply subordinate to the interests of game protection.

⁶⁹ Agar-Hamilton wrote in 1928, “In 1848 Sir Harry Smith had suggested removing ‘Kaffir youths from the frontier and “apprenticing” them to white farmers so that they might learn European agricultural methods.”

like the Waterberg and the Zoutpansberg, it also brought blacks into the capital accumulating hunting trade and brought with it an increasing use of guns as a way to exercise power and control, particularly through the figure of the *swart skut*.⁷⁰

The (perhaps not so) subtle affinity between the terms after riders (see chapter 1), *swart skuts*, ‘apprentices’, slaves, war, and hunting becomes a way to read the increased regulatory control of hunting laws in the efforts to control and regulate the practices and power with which violent “coercive power” on the veld was accomplished.⁷¹ Yet the very inscription of these terms into policy show how at once ‘the native’ is produced as a subject to be regulated, even as he simultaneously needed to be rejected as other (abjected) in order to secure white settler claims to authority over land and resources.⁷² I am drawing here on Baucom’s reading of Spivak’s ‘native informant’ and the repeated subject position, or positionality, of the ‘native informant’ in discourse forecloses any possibility to think the ‘native informant’ differently than that position.⁷³ A foundational problem of the early 1900s was the Afrikaner’s place in the global economy and the sense that Afrikaners were not moving into modernity fast enough. In the Waterberg the project of pulling them into this economy came at the cost of the native informant who needed to be made to disappear while at the same time being created/produced in a

J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton, *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, Limited, 1928), 171.

⁷⁰ Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 330-331. At Schoemansdal, Joao Albasini and Michael Buys “employed a large number of African marksmen in the hunting-field and on raids for children.” Boeyens, “Black ivory,” 196. Indeed, Article 7 of the 1858 Hunting Law states that Buys and his *zwarten jagter* (black hunters) were hunting for the ZAR government.

⁷¹ Boeyens, “Black ivory,” 194. Boeyens is using this to describe the contested power between various communities in ‘such zones’ as the Zoutpansberg, calling them ‘frontiers’ via Gillomee. Though what is important to recognize, is how the violent coercive power of manhunting was central to claims of control and legitimacy, as well as to shoring up necessary labor needs for the accumulation of capital via ivory and market hunting (slave trading was officially illegal and therefore not a viable means of accumulating capital directly).

⁷² Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 155.

⁷³ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 141-169.

particular way.⁷⁴ This was done through regulating black African life in relation to the farm, which was in turn done through hunting. The poor white is then a reason for why race is produced and de Beer provides a way to track the presence of this past in the present development discourse of the late 20th century (see Securing Separations chapter below). What was developing was a discourse on hunting that dislodged the value of hunting from the central material gains to be gotten from game and into a present and future-looking idealist discourse of who it was supposed to benefit. The outlawing of slavery did not remove the perceptions that black Africans were inferior to whites, but it shifted the terms according to which the process of subjection was inscribed into law, and demanded that the whole system of unfree labor needed to be hidden via various discourses of ‘apprentices’, ‘after riders’, *zwarte skuts*, and ‘the great evil’ (destruction of game by black African poachers).⁷⁵

The revised game law of 1870, published as Law 10 of 1870⁷⁶, retained all of 1858 proscriptions against black auxiliaries. In addition, this law outlawed the digging of or use of *vangaten* – trapping holes or catch holes (article 23).⁷⁷ Further provision was made to allow the appointment of *jagtopzieners* (gamekeepers who operated similarly to an auxiliary police officer) as *ex officio* justices of the peace who reported to the

⁷⁴ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 155-156.

⁷⁵ This was a phrase used to accuse black Africans of destroying game. Black Africans were also defined as evil in relation to the farm. W.H. Beaumont, wrote in his comments on the Natives Land Commission the “The evil of squatting or Kaffir-farming has been considerably mitigated [in Cape Province]...the provisions of this Act, with some modifications, might well be extended to other Provinces.” By this he meant the Transvaal and Orange Free State. W.H. Beaumont, *Natives Land Commission: Minute addressed to the Honourable Minister of Native Affairs* (Cape Town: Government Printers, 1916), 10.

⁷⁶ First published incorrectly as Law Number 5 of 1870, corrected in the *Staatscourant* of 10 November 1875, Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 35.

⁷⁷ Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 391. This would effectively include the practice of game drives, or driving animals toward such pit traps. The law has also been interpreted as banning snaring (Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 35) presumably because the use of a pit could be said to be ‘snaring’ game, though in practice snares are often defined as wire traps.

Landdrost and who were authorized to enforce game laws (articles 18 through 21).⁷⁸

Carruthers mentions a key legal piece of these laws: “[t]he laws of 1846 [Ohrigstad] and 1858 [Schoeman] had been made during a time of constitutional instability in the Transvaal and were the resolutions of an Executive Volksraad. Law Number 10 of 1870 was therefore the first hunting law to have the force of a statute.”⁷⁹ ‘Force of statute’ here indicates the consolidation of government power in the law and how hunting was becoming more subject to and reflective of strengthening administrative control under a new, stronger, more self-confident, established government where concern was increasingly the security of the rural white settler population.⁸⁰ Of the eight additional articles added to the 1870 law, five outlined the role and responsibilities of *jagtopzieners* and one was a further proscription on black hunting (outlawing pit traps).⁸¹ Thus this law can be read as a significant effort to better enforce the continuing restrictions on black hunting. White hunting for the market in ivory, an animal product to be traded in Pretoria, remained legally supported and restrictions on black African access to the resources of the land was increasingly enforced. Carruthers states that, “[w]hite settlement of the

⁷⁸ Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 390. *Jagtopzieners* could confiscate weapons and animals and refer cases to the landdrost (article 19), and were also eligible to receive half of recovered fines for convicted offenses (article 26).

⁷⁹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 35, footnote 74. The independent Boer republic in the Transvaal, the *Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek* (ZAR) was established on 10 July 1852 at the Sandrivier Convention (Miller, *A Frontier Town*, 13). The town of Pretoria as the capital for the ZAR was established in 1855, but it was not the seat of government until 1 May 1860, the first *raadsaal* (council chamber) was not built until 1864 (see <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/pretoria-timeline-1800-2009>). The hunting laws of 1848 (Ohrigstad) and 1858 (Schoeman) were regional laws with limited juridical power outside the groups of white settlers in each area across the Transvaal more broadly. Schoemansdal was abandoned in 1867 due to conflicts with the neighboring VhaVenda communities (Miller, *A Frontier Town*, 9). The 1870 laws were the first issued from Pretoria as the seat of power for the ZAR.

⁸⁰ The organization of the Volksraad around a politics of petition where citizens sent petitions to Volksraad for debate in order for changes in law to take place played a central role in how the white settler population of the Waterberg was able to push for hunting rights for poor whites and landowners in the area in opposition to increasing regulation. See discussion below.

⁸¹ Jeppe and Kotzé, *De Locale Wetten*, 387-391. The other two (articles 24 and 25) related to restrictions on hunting and selling ostrich and ostrich eggs. On the role of the ostrich industry as an early effort at ‘game ranching’ in relation to other livestock farming see Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation*, 13-27.

frontier areas was necessary in order for the Transvaal government to continue to stake its political and economic claim,” however I would argue further that claiming and regulating the frontier primarily through hunting was necessary for the Transvaal’s entire claim to sovereignty.⁸²

In 1871 a clause was added to make it “obligatory for all Field-Cornets and burghers to assist gamekeepers in their duties.”⁸³ This extension of legal authority for enforcement of hunting laws to what amounted to all white males in the rural areas as a way to exercise control over land and animals extended the ‘force of statute’ of the 1870 law and marks race as the dividing line since these two roles, field-cornet and burgher were the purview of whites only. So, while the “[p]ursuit of the sport of killing wild animals was thus a powerful incentive for visiting the Transvaal, and white settlers regarded hunting as their right, visitors considered it to be a privilege,”⁸⁴ the common thread was the aim of extending white male control over the rural Transvaal. Indeed, “both market hunters [Boers] and sportsmen [British] killed game and engaged in the same physical hunting behaviour, but the motives of each group were different and were not easily understood by the other.”⁸⁵ Bunn argues that by the first decades of the 20th century these differences between the Boers and the British were related to competing scientific notions of how to manage game in relation to hunting on private land adjacent to Kruger National Park. Added to this was a class division where poor whites felt

⁸² Carruthers is referring specifically to petitions from the Zoutpansberg region. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 36. This returns to my discussion of sovereignty from above.

⁸³ TA UR24, Article 52, 8 July 1871. A field-cornet, or *veldkornet*, was a “civilian official invested with the rank and responsibilities of a military officer and with judicial powers enabling him to act as a local administrator and magistrate.” <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com> search for field-cornet.

⁸⁴ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 38.

⁸⁵ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 40.

excluded from the park and its luxury.⁸⁶ Bunn differentiates the experience/relationship of Afrikaner and British relations to the environment/hunt/conservation as understudied and disregarded. My argument below begins to address how this complex relationship between ethnic, cultural and class differences (between Afrikaner and British) begins to give way to more clearly demarcated racial divisions through the hardening lines drawn around hunting in the changing language of the law. I show that this ‘same physical hunting’ practice was juxtaposed specifically to black hunting methods (traps and snares) and supported/enforced by inscription in the laws. Further, this was also being ingrained in popular perceptions of the region via hunting narratives in which Boer shooting and hunting skills and enduring hardship in settling the region as virtues earned them some respect among the English.⁸⁷ Yet in the Waterberg, which remained a marginal area known for tsetse that still had game,⁸⁸ adherence and enforcement were minimal. At the same time, the decline of black African chiefly power proceeded alongside the introduction of private property and perceptions of ‘ownership’ among whites.

⁸⁶ Bunn, “An Unnatural State,” 215, 211. In the Waterberg debates about the Palala Game Reserve (in the years after 1902 when the South African War ended) discussed below, *biltong* hunting (market hunting) was blamed on Boers, British, and black Africans, depending on who is making the argument.

⁸⁷ See the epigraph by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle above that opens this chapter where he states the *boers* were forged through “seven generations in constant warfare against savage men and ferocious beasts.” Here he is referencing the *boers* of these late decades of the 19th century who represented and embodied the accumulation of hunting and military skill necessary to settle and subdue both ‘savage men and ferocious beasts’.

⁸⁸ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 40.

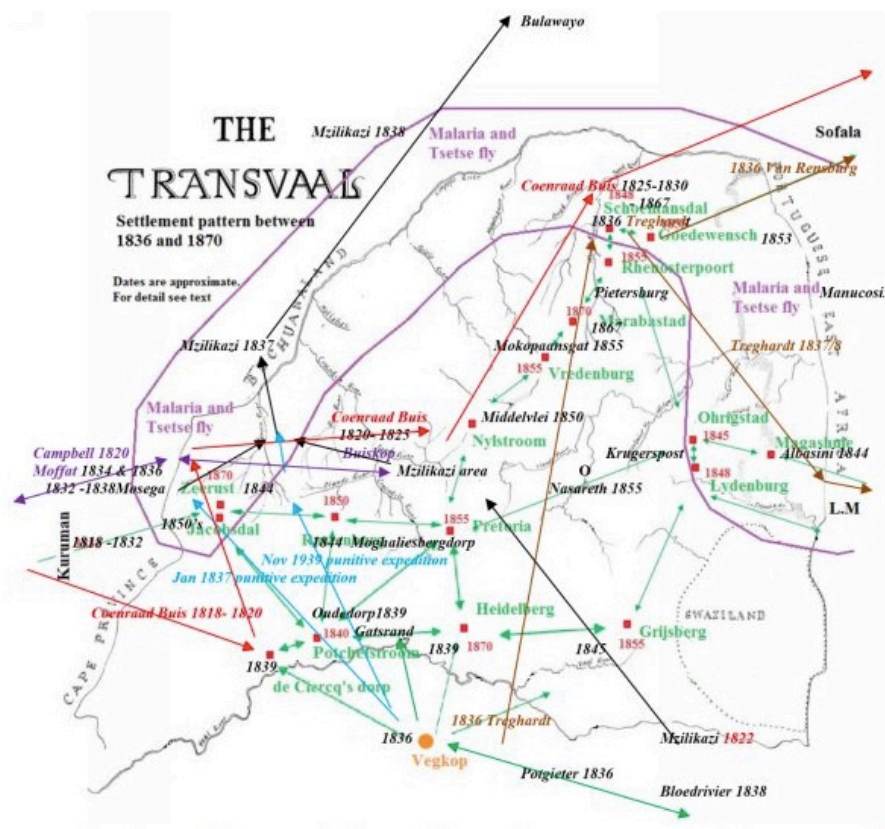


Figure 2 – Map of the Transvaal showing settlement patterns from 1838-1870. Sidney Miller, *A Frontier Town*, viii.

As early as 1837, after defeating Mzilikaze and forcing him north beyond the Limpopo, Andries Potgieter claimed, as spoils of war, the large area of land "*benoorde de Vaalrivier, langs Vaalrivier af tot aan Langberg, vandaar langs de Dorsland tot aan de Zoutpansberg en van daar tot aan Drakensberg in Sinkogella's...*", translated as, "north of the Vaal River, along the Vaal River to the Langberg, from there along the thirst land (Botswana) up to the Zoutpansberg and from there to Sinkongella...".⁸⁹ This very early claim to land (prior to any established government in Pretoria) included the Waterberg, but as is evident even on Miller's map of movement through the Transvaal, the Waterberg remains an empty white space, or as C.R. Prance notes 'D.B.U.' (dense,

⁸⁹ Miller, *A Frontier Town*, 12.

bushy, unsurveyed).⁹⁰ Prance's narratives are another connection between popular imaginaries of the Waterberg (and other remote regions) and the politics of governing the region. He used pseudonyms like Nergens (nowhere) and Niemansdorp (no-man's-village) for farms and towns in the *backveld* (similar to being *achter ide berg*), or bushveld. He pulls his use of "D.B.U." (dense, bushy, unsurveyed) from the common notation for the 'vacant' or 'empty' Waterberg (and other) bushveld regions on turn of the 20th century maps of the Transvaal and how they were constituted as, and desired to be, exceptional spaces apart from the rest of the province. Prance wrote of the Waterberg as on the edge of civilization that, "has given place to dwindling timber and the spreading grubbiness of civilisation's raveled edge, unkempt homesteads, shapeless acres, derelict fences, broken gates, broken gates even on scrupulously orderly farms."⁹¹ In Miller's map above (figure 1), the purple line that encircles the arc of the Limpopo region indicated the tsetse fly belt and malarial region that limited white hunting in that area. The black line cutting through that encircled area is Mzilikaze's route in 1837⁹² that skirts the western boundary of the Waterberg and the red line is Coenraad Buys route (1818-1848) along the eastern edge of the Waterberg mountains. The large 'empty' white space in between is the Waterberg.

Carruthers notes,

Even in parts of the country where British influence did not predominate [such as the Waterberg], a landowning class of farmers began to take a proprietary interest in game, so much so that a contemporary British magazine was able to state,

⁹⁰ Cyril Rooke Prance, *Under the blue roof; sketches of a settler's life in the Transvaal backveld, 1908 to 1921* (Berkhamsted: Press of W. Cooper, 1923), 33.

⁹¹ Prance, *Under the blue roof*, 33.

⁹² Seleka is located within the tsetse area near the confluence of the Palala River and Limpopo rivers, see *Imagining Waterberg* chapter. Arkwright was one of the few hunters to record his venture through in the mid-1800's during the winter hunting seasons, see *After Riders* chapter.

“Another thing Boers think a great deal of is the preservation of game on their farms. They live upon buck, and consider them private property.”⁹³ (my addition)

The importance of private property and hunting rights became central to Waterberg hunting politics in the 1880s and 1890s. As a foil to the protectionist efforts to establish game reserves and national parks elsewhere, the story of the poor white and settler farmer lobby of the Waterberg exemplified by J. du Plessis de Beer and the failed Palala Game Reserve indicates how race and capital converged in access to and control of hunting and became the main current in determining hunting regulations – and through them control over land, animals and African labor – throughout the next century and more.

Poor Whites and the Waterberg Hunting Politics of the 1880s-1890s

The literature that includes discussions of hunting in the late 19th and early 20th centuries focuses on protection of game as an effect of declining game numbers. However in the Waterberg, it was the protection of the hunting rights for poor whites and landowners that dominated. The clearest indication of this in the political debates of the late 19th century can be seen in the figure of J. du Plessis de Beer, Volksraad representative for the Waterberg. Carruthers frequently cites de Beer who was, very broadly, a voice of opposition to increased game and conservation protectionist measures that would restrict hunting privileges for landowners and farmers, or, to Carruthers, an ‘obstructionist,’ as noted above.⁹⁴ Yet de Beer’s representation of the Waterberg’s landowner’s concerns points to a series of overlapping interests that concerned settlers. Land was almost fully allocated as surveyed farmland in the Waterberg by 1880s and

⁹³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 43. And footnote 155: “‘The Boers at home’”, *Blackwood’s (Edinburgh) Magazine*, 130(794) 1881, p. 759.”

⁹⁴ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 46.

1890s.⁹⁵ The varied ecological make-up of the Waterberg meant that most settlers lived along the eastern edge of the mountains near Nylstroom (Transvaal central highlands), or amid the valleys near Seven Sisters and Hanglip where higher elevations were tsetse free, though access was limited to a couple difficult ascents of the mountain. Few white settlers lived entirely *achter de berg*. Though many farmers owned farms in the western Waterberg region closer to the Limpopo river, these were only visited in the winter months for farmers to graze their cattle and for the winter hunt.⁹⁶ Carruthers emphasizes these winter hunts as central to the debates about land in and near the Sabi and Singwetsi Reserves in the Eastern Transvaal, reserves that would be incorporated into what would become Kruger National Park. De Beer wanted to safeguard these winter hunting privileges in the bushveld, but the significance of his opposition to reserves derives centrally from concerns with land ownership, its connections to hunting for subsistence, and concern over poor whites⁹⁷, as well as trespass and security on farms in the Waterberg.⁹⁸ Thus the most prominent voice of opposition to the eastern reserves,

⁹⁵ The first full map of the Transvaal province to show all surveyed private and government farms was published in 1899 by Jeppe. There are a few sources for this: this map itself is located in the National Archives of South Africa, plus Carruthers' article on the map, Jane Carruthers, "Friedrich Jeppe: Mapping the Transvaal c. 1850-1899," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 4 (December 2003): 955-975; as well as Andrew Duminy, *Mapping South Africa: A Historical Survey of South African Maps and Charts* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2011), which details how Jeppe compiled the map from farm survey maps and other data in the late 1890s (96). Land was first allocated as private farms to white settlers beginning in 1860 and 1864, Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 32. However concerted efforts to settle whites on these surveyed farms did not occur until after the South African War with the Crown Land Disposal Ordinance of 1903.

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 89-109; Lex Rodgers, *Vintage Waterberg, Timeless Waterberg*, 20; Wagner, "Zoutpansberg," 315. These farms were only suitable for cattle and hunting by whites in the winter when disease was down due to lower temperatures and drier conditions that limited tsetse and mosquitos (malaria).

⁹⁷ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 73. Here she cites de Beer in 1894 where he was specifically concerned with the destitute whites in the Waterberg whether stricter protections should be placed on animals that were normally shot for the pot.

⁹⁸ By contrasts, debates over winter hunts and grazing from the eastern Transvaal were tied up in concerns about reserves (Pongola) and their relationship to trade, securing routes to the sea, or more pressing international border concerns. Pongola Game Reserve received enough votes to be proclaimed in 1895 (De Beer voted against it), but was not officially proclaimed until 1898 and is was envisioned as a strategic

according to Carruthers, came from the Waterberg and its bushveld, on the opposite western side of the Transvaal where the market and subsistence hunting remained important into the late 1890s. I read de Beer also as a prominent voice of concern around race and economy and with the growing ‘poor white problem’ (discussed below) and the destitute whites of the Waterberg de Beer sought to protect. Carruthers emphasized the class-protectionist connection in the game laws. My emphasis, reading de Beer through Carruthers, rests on the class-race connections in hunting and its regulation, definition, and connection to property via landowners. She touches on this but does not explore it as a product of the relations of the hunt – white and black cooperation in market/commercial hunting. As a counterpoint to Carruthers’ argument later in her book about the prominent role played by urban and international hunters in effecting protectionist legislation in reserves and national parks⁹⁹, the social status of the winter hunt and associated livestock and agricultural hopes for settler farmers in the Waterberg was a key part to the unfolding of hunting relations, economies and regulation in the region.¹⁰⁰

access to the sea. It was located in the far south east Lowveld region of the Transvaal along the border with what is now Swaziland and Mozambique. Jane Carruthers, “The Pongola Game Reserve: An Eco-Political Study,” *Koedoe* 28, no. 1 (1985): 1-16.

⁹⁹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 68-71. Returning to the discussion of David Bunn’s argument about the role of narrative and history via visits to Kruger Park, he states that “[i]n the 1920s and 1930s nascent Afrikaner nationalism was heavily invested in the idea of rescuing ‘poor whites’ from their ambiguous proximity to working-class black and coloured communities.” (Bunn, “An Unnatural State,” 210).

¹⁰⁰ Bunn argued in the same section cited above that the farm, as well as the bushveld, became symbolic of the stories that referenced the pioneer days of the Afrikaner settler-farmers (Bunn, “An Unnatural State,” 210-211). Citing Bhaba and Benjamin, Bunn argues that the space of the park is a symbolic enclave separated from the stresses and problems of intensified experiences of time associated with modern industrialization and war. The park is intended as a restorative, timeless, space of pre-modern harmony (Bunn, “An Unnatural State,” 208). While for someone like de Beer it was not necessarily a ‘symbolic enclave’ that was separated from the stress of modern life, private land and hunting were symbolic of the white pioneering spirit that needed to be protected and secured, particularly for poor whites. I argue how the hunting farm in the post-apartheid can be read in this light. Refer back to the discussion of Bunn and Hofmeyr on narrative in the After Riders chapter. See my discussion of Bunn as well as Goodrich’s emphasis on hunting and belonging for Afrikaners in the Introduction and again in the Securing Separation chapter.

A brief aside on the ‘poor white’ and de Beer is necessary here. De Beer’s argument is an expression of the poor white problem from the rural Waterberg at a time when the ‘hunting frontier’ was ‘closing’.¹⁰¹ Charles van Onselen discusses the poor white problem on the farms in the western Transvaal (south of the Waterberg, closer to the Rand, the mines, and Johannesburg/Pretoria).¹⁰² Specifically he mentions the relationship between landowners, sharecroppers and transient, mobile *trekboers* having a right to shoot for the pot.¹⁰³ Yet in the area van Onselen examines the hunting economy was no longer in existence considering the more established agriculture and livestock farms of the western Transvaal, the diminished game numbers, and proximity to the Rand. Proximity to urban mining demands was central to Van Onselen’s study, whereas life *achter de berg* remained fluid and relatively marginal to urban life (see description by Prance above). Van Onselen connects racial violence on farms, and the presentation of white farms as the space of race relations and the roots of apartheid through a differentiation of layers of farm labor – wage laborers, labor tenants, sharecroppers – to show how, instead of a sharp white/black racial divide, there did exist in these relationships a “surprising measure of accommodation” that “transcended the stark and restrictive code of race relations.”¹⁰⁴

What I argue here is how *hunting* in relation to private land ‘layered’ or accumulated the underlying racial distinction that, while differentiated in the way van Onselen details, was in fact the red thread running through this.¹⁰⁵ I am adding a layer to

¹⁰¹ Wagner, “Zoutpansberg,” 337.

¹⁰² Van Onselen, “Race and Class,” 99-123.

¹⁰³ Van Onselen, “Race and Class,” 101.

¹⁰⁴ Van Onselen, “Race and Class,” 101-102. See also Trapido, “Landlord and Tenant,” 26-58.

¹⁰⁵ Different forms of marginalization all remain marginalized - and then recur starkly and differently/differentiated in private game farms of the second half of the 20th century and the post-apartheid. See my *Securing Separation and Blood Lines* chapters below.

van Onselen's thinking about the farm economy by looking at the social and livelihood importance of a non-farming activity and resource. But this also means moving from his discussion of class/race encounters to the particular racial proscriptions of hunting law that, bound up in the class arguments between landowners and poor whites (de Beer's defense of poor whites and landowners in Waterberg), speak to a different articulation of race relations that connect the black ivory black labor of the Zoutpansberg/Waterberg with the ivory hunt, and – going back to the relationship between slavery and ivory – with manhunts and the racialized violence of pursuing economic and social security. There was certainly a 'cultural osmosis'¹⁰⁶ in the adoption of particular hunting practices – tracking on foot, snares/traps (for vermin), firearm dispersal, shooting for the pot, biltong, trade, etc. – and Schoemansdal and the hunting economy built on cooperation of white hunters with black auxiliaries is exemplary of this, yet the racialized hunting laws (though difficult to enforce in practice) spin out of the political need to secure white claims to the land and to authority in the rural. As much as farm relations were shaped by tenancy, sharecropping, and labor relations, connections to the land and livelihoods in the hunting *veld* of the Waterberg had the added dynamic of game as a resource to be contested in a region where agriculture and livestock was a more tenuous endeavor. While the earlier hybrid culture of hunting that Schoemansdal exemplified was perhaps more fluid between white hunters and black African hunters, the declining hunting trade and the evolving demands of settler colonial agriculture meant that these formations changed as the goal of securing white economic and social control of these areas intensified. By expanding the notion of the poor white into the hunting economy and the hunting frontier, I argue with de Beer that conservation becomes a foil for the competing

¹⁰⁶ Van Onselen, "Race and Class," 107.

interests of landowners and other more wealthy whites in rural areas seeking to secure claims to the land.

Connecting these landowner interests in the law to the narrative figuring of the bushveld in the *After Riders* chapter and the positionality of the *type* of the after rider on the *veld*, the Waterberg provides a different example of the “common sense made juridical.”¹⁰⁷ Lis Lange, reading both Posel and Ashforth, argues that governing in the early 20th century was more about whiteness than about ‘black’ as a ‘race’.¹⁰⁸ She makes a compelling argument for this making of whiteness as an urban phenomenon of efforts to address the poor white problem. My argument is that in the Waterberg, efforts at addressing a poor white problem on potential but poor/precarious agricultural land was legislated more directly in the context of marginalizing black African communities. Lange argues further for a distinction between the 1900s (poor whites an employment problem) and the 1920s (poor whites a political problem)¹⁰⁹, though the Waterberg complicates this distinction, through de Beer, where poor whites were a political problem for the protectionist/conservationist debates. De Beer was not arguing for employment of whites in the 1890s, but for the politics of white access and control of land and its resources through hunting. This is not to say Lange’s framing does not hold for the urban aspects of the poor white problem, but instead it is meant to emphasize the variances in regional concerns about race, class, and economy and the possibility – in the absence of even marginally productive agricultural land – of other forms of material life and

¹⁰⁷ Lis Lange, *White, Poor and Angry: White working class families in Johannesburg* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 5. Lange is citing this phrase from a paper given by Deborah Posel titled, “What is a name? Racial Categorisations under Apartheid and their Afterlife,” presented at the conference ‘The Burden of Race? ‘Whiteness’ and ‘Blackness’ in Modern South Africa,’ History Workshop and Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (July 5-8, 2001). See Lange, chapter 1, footnote 17.

¹⁰⁸ Lange, *White, Poor and Angry*, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Lange, *White, Poor and Angry*, 133.

‘employment’ – hunting the animals on/of that land – to redress poverty among rural Afrikaners. In addition, hunting in the Waterberg – through the intersections between hunting narratives and Afrikaner nationalist perceptions of living a trekking life through hunting and winter treks in the Waterberg – provided a different “moral universe”¹¹⁰ within which to articulate identity in the face of socio-economic uncertainty.¹¹¹

De Beer served as the representative of a “most turbulent set” of burghers in the Waterberg who, “were content with the game law as it stood [1870 and 1874 laws], precisely because it imposed no practical restrictions on their freedom to hunt”.¹¹² His tenure in the Volksraad from the 1880s through the 1900s was marked by his support for destitute whites, landowner rights, and mixed comments about black Africans as a threat to hunting. In an 1884 review of an 1882 petition for stricter game laws and more gamekeepers, de Beer did not agree with the government response to the petition that existing game laws (1870 and 1874) were effective to stop illegal killing of animals citing prevalence of hide hunters in the Waterberg.¹¹³ Despite de Beer’s assessment that the laws were ineffective,¹¹⁴ he was similarly resolved not to support the tightening of game

¹¹⁰ Lange, *White, Poor and Angry*, 145.

¹¹¹ Remarking on the Indigency Commission of 1908, Lange notes that the commission viewed poor whites as a rural problem in need of agriculture reform. Lange, *White, Poor and Angry*, 148. Reform in the Waterberg was a project of white settlement.

¹¹² Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 49. Again, this is Carruthers’ reading of de Beer through the *Minutes of the Volksraad*. However, the theme of the Waterberg and surrounding areas as lawless regions with unsavory characters was not just in narratives like Prance’s cited above. Theal wrote in 1908 that the white population of the Zoutpansberg was, “the most lawless of their colour in all South Africa.” George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa Since September 1795 vol 4* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1908), 214.

¹¹³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 45-46.

¹¹⁴ I read the law here as inadequately enforced due to limited gamekeeper patrols over the remote and inaccessible Waterberg region (though enforcement was difficult across the province due to small number of patrols and large expanses of rural farm land). De Beer is not cited as being concerned with protection of animals, but as noting a law’s ineffectiveness. Hide hunting and biltong hunting were key aspects of livelihood for poor Waterberg farmers at this time.

laws that would infringe on landowner ability to hunt on their land.¹¹⁵ While differing on the effectiveness of the game laws, there was common cause between de Beer and the *Landdrost* in the desire to not impose further restrictions on hunting.¹¹⁶

De Beer objected to the first discussions of proclaiming state game reserves (Pongola) due to uncertain boundaries and concern over whether black Africans would be subject to the same regulations. This argument went hand in hand with other opposition concerning white rights to the use of state land. Carruthers states, “the welfare of the state was at issue and animal welfare was to be used as a means to attain political ends.”¹¹⁷ By ‘welfare of the state’ Carruthers was referring to Pongola as a strategic area for port access and border control in order to stabilize strength in trade, but this speaks to the larger racial questions when read through De Beer and private property in the Waterberg.¹¹⁸ While reserves were being cleared of people, particularly blacks, white farms were becoming increasingly concerned with landowner rights over black labor. During the 1891 hunting legislation debates, the two main concerns were license fees and restrictions on landowners over wild animals on their property. De Beer voiced his concern over the question of trespassing and whether licenses allowed hunting on private and public land. The Waterberg, through de Beer, was one of many districts voicing concern “that burghers would no longer be masters of the game on their own farms.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 45-46. Carruthers notes here that when the question of hunting animals on private property was raised this became the most heated part of the debate.

¹¹⁶ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 48-49. The combination of the lack of clarity on the game laws, with the difficulty of enforcing them, can lead one to read responses like those by de Beer as a way of asserting a type of remoteness, a desire to be left to ones own devices and to claims over land and animals.

¹¹⁷ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 53.

¹¹⁸ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 53. The allocation of private farms in the Transvaal began in the 1860s, Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 33.

¹¹⁹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 58 footnote 79. Translated from the Afrikaans by Carruthers, quote attributed to A.A. Stoop, Volksraad member from Wakkerstroom.

De Beer remained concerned for poor whites in the Waterberg, feeling that license fees would be too onerous for them, further limiting hunting to an elite sport and curtailing subsistence hunting.¹²⁰ In addition to licensing and its costs, the question of ‘owning’ wild life became central to the debate between the broader right to hunt and the specific property rights of landowners although both were articulated, below, through a discourse of hunting rights. A commission was appointed to address this concern and apart from agreeing on need for further protection, heated debate on the particulars took place.¹²¹ Carruthers provides a detailed account of the 1891 hunting law (Law No. 6 of 1891) and its debates.

Clause 2 introduced compulsory licensing of all white hunters. De Beer here threatened landowners that if license fees were too high they would effectively turn poor whites into poachers and thieves.¹²² Carruthers, likely like the Volksraad, reads de Beer as an ‘obstructionist’ and his protest was outvoted.¹²³

Clause 5 limited hunting to only the amount necessary for consumption, retained from the 1858 and 1870 laws. Interestingly here, de Beer wanted clarification on the specific number of animals this meant, contending that hunters and gamekeepers would consider different numbers adequate (particularly when large numbers of blacks accompanied a hunt and needed to be fed).¹²⁴ This would seem to be a restriction on landowner rights and not in line with de Beer’s other efforts at protecting those rights.

¹²⁰ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 58-59.

¹²¹ Clause 1 – sentimental full protection for elephant and hippo clashed with their use value for marketable products. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 60-61.

¹²² Forty years later the Carnegie Commission published *The Report of the Poor White Problem in South Africa*. See discussion below.

¹²³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 61.

¹²⁴ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 62.

Again de Beer and others were outvoted in favor of the freedom of landowners to hunt as much as they liked, particularly on winter hunts to second farms.

Clauses 6 and 7 protected landowner property rights by stating a license does not give a hunter the right to hunt on private land without written permission or on government land where hunting was prohibited.¹²⁵

Clauses 8, 9, and 10 further protect landowners by allowing them to hunt on their land without a license during open season, as well as to kill animals destroying their crops any time of the year. Despite de Beer's opposition to Clauses 6 and 7, he was in full support of these clauses stating that landowners should be masters of their land and free to shoot whenever they want.¹²⁶ Debate also was held over whether landowners destroyed game in practice, despite protectionist sentiments. The issue of licensing all landowners proved too administratively onerous, and thus the commission recommended landowners have the right to sue for trespass to ensure they "were adequately protected from poachers."¹²⁷ This move from broad licensing to suing for trespass shifted the burden heavily onto blacks. With such a limited white population, the small community of white farmers would likely have been known to one another, and visiting hunters would have relied on that hospitality and knowledge of the area.¹²⁸ Black movement across land for game and cattle became the central focus of trespass laws in the area.

¹²⁵ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 62-63.

¹²⁶ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 63.

¹²⁷ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 63. Although, if de Beer is right (above), the line between black poachers and poor whites might easily be blurred or nonexistent.

¹²⁸ There was not always harmony within this small white community. Class divisions made for difficult relations at times. Recall from above that the white community would have been made up, broadly, of *burghers* (citizens) *boers* (citizens, but also a farmers), and *bywoners* (non-landowning laborers farming another's land, often the poorest).

Clause 11 and 13 – de Beer was the sole dissenting vote on these measures – limited the sale of game products (Clause 11) and ostrich eggs (Clause 13).¹²⁹

Despite the differences between white farmers, ‘landowners’ and poor whites, de Beer’s objections make evident that there was a general consensus that hunting was to be a privilege of whites. To quote Carruthers at length,

Over the years it had become apparent that the intricate details regarding the regulation of black hunting auxiliaries were out of date, because by then very few such people existed in the Transvaal. New provisions were therefore necessary in order to prevent blacks from hunting game. *Proposals* [my emphasis] included in Clause 14 of the new law were particularly harsh: all black and so-called “coloured” [refer to *gekleurd* from above and Carruthers’ use of ‘black’] people, whether holding “passes” or not, who hunted with firearms anywhere in the Transvaal, faced immediate imprisonment, “*om rekenschap van zichselven te geven*” [footnote 105 “To give an account of themselves”]. Whites who apprehended black hunters were expressly directed to meet force with force, and any firearms confiscated on the imprisonment of black hunters would become the property of the white person who had arrested these hunters. No black was permitted to obtain a hunting license, and therefore the prohibition of hunting by blacks applied throughout the year, and not only during the official closed season. De Beer suggested that Africans with passes be permitted to hunt and he also believed that the confiscation of weapons from blacks would exacerbate racial tension and might even lead to war. He was sharply reminded by the Vice-President that “*de jacht was geen levensbehoefte meer, men schoot niet voor plezier.*” [footnote 106 “The hunt no longer provides a livelihood, people shoot now solely for pleasure”].

White hunters in the Volksraad enthusiastically defended their right to pursue game for pleasure and were determined to protect it against black competitors, quite forgetting that in the profitable game husbanding and mercantile operations of the past, whites had, in fact, required black support. Emotive language in this connection was used by Volksraad members in defence of their own sport hunting, this being genteelly referred to as the “jacht” (hunt), as compared with the activities of “*de kaffers [wat] moorden toch alle wild uit.*” (footnote 107 “The kaffirs who simply murder all the game”).¹³⁰

Ultimately a less harsh Clause 14 was passed where blacks could not immediately be imprisoned, but were to be brought before a local official. Blacks were also allowed to

¹²⁹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 64.

¹³⁰ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 64. The reference to white hunters from the Volksraad hunting for pleasure is a reference to (English) sport hunters. It may also include some Afrikaner landowners, but Carruthers is writing past the objections of de Beer and the poor whites hunting for subsistence here.

kill birds, not mammals that destroyed their crops.¹³¹ Still, the severity and particularity of proscriptions of black hunters here regarding firearm use and control year round, coupled with the defining of livelihood as outside hunting – thus wage labor on farms or in mines and the city – forced blacks into a position of being presumed a poacher. That de Beer supported limited African hunting suggests that the Waterberg was one of the few remaining areas of the Transvaal that still employed black hunting auxiliaries and where social racial boundaries, at least on the hunt, remained more fluid and cooperative.

The protectionist ethic prevailed in the attitude toward the reserves, but the private land and subsistence hunting regions like the Waterberg remained more in the pioneer ethic and mentality.¹³² This is what I referred to in the Introduction when referencing the Waterberg as an eddy, “where ideas and exchanges between settlers and local communities swirled – reinforcing certain relationships but always moving and adapting, a space/area where national, regional and local notions of South Africa – around identity, social relations, race relations, economic systems, and land use – percolated and became codified and embedded in the lives of people and their history”.

In the 1884 debates about the report of the 1893 commission of inquiry to deal with the number of petitions requesting amendments to the game laws, hunting attitudes were largely divided between urban/English/protectionist and rural/Boer/utilization.¹³³ De Beer and Malan (Rustenburg) objected that a proposed shorter season would negatively affect winter hunts and “reiterated the position of landowners... *“een burger was baas*

¹³¹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 64-65.

¹³² Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 65. The vote took place on 1 July 1891.

¹³³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 71. I do not have a copy of the 1893 commission, it is not digitized, though for future work I will return to the archives in Pretoria to locate it. As with de Beer and the *Minutes of the Volksraad*, I came to this late in my writing. However, Carruthers’ book provides enough material that can be considered a primary source, or at least a window into them.

over zijn grond.”¹³⁴ De Beer and others continued to provide opposition to stricter laws in the 1894 debates on account of poor whites needing to hunt for the pot and in part they secured a political victory when they were able to secure lower license fees, which would help poorer whites be able to hunt.¹³⁵ Landowners were still permitted to hunt without restriction on their own land during the open season.¹³⁶

In 1892, in a debate about protecting the secretary bird from destruction (by black Africans), Carruthers states that De Beer assumed the legislation was racist because he had never experienced blacks hunting or capturing the bird on purpose.¹³⁷ Again, an understanding of what was a racially motivated law here is blurred considering De Beer’s support for other landowner-centered hunting laws that discriminated against blacks. It also indicates how knowledge via direct experience may have been valued by de Beer and extended to his understanding of the particular black African practices regarding secretary birds as a truth claim. Laying blame on different groups of people for destruction of game in an effort to secure rights to game for one’s own group was a common theme of debate in the 1890s: sportsmen blamed *burghers*, *burghers* blamed sportsmen/visitors, market hunters (black or white) were blamed for destruction, and

¹³⁴ This translates to “a citizen is master of his land.” Carruthers is quoting Malan in the *Minutes of the Volksraad*, Article 671, 3 July 1894. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 72.

¹³⁵ Their attempts to extend the hunting season failed, and the season dates set in the 1893 amendments remained. These debates of 1894 were also the first time that the Volksraad set specified numbers of game for own personal/family consumption per farm, numbers that De Beer felt were too low. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 73-74.

¹³⁶ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 74. In a footnote, Carruthers notes a petition by 52 men in Potchefstroom district to allow shooting of game only once it had been on one’s property for one month. This was intended to help landowners prevent animals being lured from their property to be killed and was an early iteration of an attempt at claiming private ownership of game animals. Despite not being supported by the Volksraad, the petition indicates the association between landownership and game resource ownership and that efforts to define and control those resources for personal or economic use were being explored. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 74, footnote 36 – Carruthers cites *Minutes of the Volksraad*, Article 381, 15 June 1895.

¹³⁷ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 74.

whites collectively blamed black Africans.¹³⁸ Yet the continued lack of adherence to and enforcement of season and license laws remained high, with haphazard gamekeeper appointments and subsequent haphazard effects.¹³⁹

In 1892, as in 1871, in an effort to more effectively enforce the game laws, gamekeeper responsibilities became part of the duties of field-cornets (*veldkornets*) and native commissioners¹⁴⁰ – in other words, they became honorary gamekeepers. This status was made official in Clause 16 of the new game laws of 1894, Law Number 5 of 1894, where all Commandants, Field-Cornets, Assistant Field-Cornets and Native Commissioners were now added as *ex officio* government gamekeepers.¹⁴¹ As hunting restrictions on black Africans accumulated in the hunting laws, accumulation of white power was embodied in the growing number of white male citizens with the authorization to enforce game laws amid the continued blaming of black Africans for destruction of game.¹⁴² De Beer offered comment in the 1893 discussions on proposed new game laws about how large groups of black African hunters went on massive hunts twice a year.¹⁴³ This is somewhat surprising after he defended black Africans regarding destruction of secretary bird, yet falls in line with supporting landowners. The position of black Africans as hunters, at least for de Beer, was not absolute and certainly up for debate,

¹³⁸ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 75-76. Again, this is Carruthers' summary of the debates in the *Minutes of the Volksraad*. Though from the broader hunting narrative literature and official documents I am inclined to agree with her on this point.

¹³⁹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 76-77.

¹⁴⁰ A native commissioner was a white local government official in charge of 'native' affairs for black Africans in their district or region.

¹⁴¹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 78.

¹⁴² This debate, and my line of argument, recurs in further detail in the Implements of Destruction chapter.

¹⁴³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 78 footnote 77. Carruthers citing *Minutes of the Volksraad*, Article 690, 3 July 1894.

even if black African hunting with firearms remained prohibited. Though the dominant argument was that black Africans were destructive.¹⁴⁴

De Beer strongly supported a petition from farmers in the Waterberg during the 1896 rinderpest epidemic to allow for more white hunting of game during the closed season for subsistence and as an effort to stop the spread of the disease, but it was ultimately denied.¹⁴⁵ He again cited the poor whites of the Waterberg and the detrimental effects the rinderpest, and subsequent drought in the region had on white livelihoods – which remained in part supported by subsistence hunting and what remained of the market hunting economy.¹⁴⁶ By 1897 the Executive Council had received so many petitions to repeal laws due to rinderpest, drought, and poor harvest that it recommended the suspension of restrictive hunting laws, but the *Volksraad* would not support it.¹⁴⁷ Urban *Volksraad* members argued people could not live off wild game and should earn a living another way. De Beer and others, “argued in favour of the government’s [Executive Council’s] case, contending that while blacks illegally destroyed game

¹⁴⁴ Carruthers notes there was debate over a proposal of having black African gamekeepers, though this was not taken up because black Africans were deemed unable to be trusted and would just become “black hunters.” She does not clarify her use of the phrase ‘black hunters’ here, though it implies they would be viewed essentially as poachers. The slippage here between ‘black hunter’ and its implied meaning for poaching obscures the role of race in the hunting debates. Firstly it did not enable a discussion around how the Minutes of Evidence as a primary source might provide insight into this debate. Secondly it embedded ‘black’ as a marker of race in the historiography as shorthand that allowed Carruthers to make her argument about protection while moving an engagement of hunting with race to the margins of the text. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 78.

¹⁴⁵ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 80.

¹⁴⁶ As Carruthers notes, “[t]his decision by the Volksraad to withhold a natural resource from the destitute, even in a time of national emergency, was an unpopular one.” Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 81.

¹⁴⁷ On the division of power in the Transvaal government, Carruthers states, “The constitution of the Transvaal provided for a unicameral legislature, the Volksraad, elected by enfranchised male citizen (burgers). Executive authority was wielded by a President (directly elected) who was ex officio Chairman of a small Executive Council, membership of white included the Commandant-General, the State secretary and a number of others. The President and Executive Council (here referred to as the “government”) could initiate legislation in the Volksraad, which body had to ratify all the decisions of the President and Executive Council.” (Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 34 footnote 64).

continuously, whites should at least be entitled to hunt in what was a time of great national misfortune.”¹⁴⁸ The *Volksraad* rejected this and voted to keep laws in place.¹⁴⁹

There was also an April 1895 petition by 50 Waterberg residents wealthier landowners to cease all hunting for five years in the Waterberg with more gamekeepers appointed to patrol. De Beer did not support the petition, again citing his support of poor destitute white burghers and blaming game loss on blacks. De Beer’s position prevailed and the district was not subject to a five year no hunting prohibition.¹⁵⁰ Further, De Beer was adamantly against the Springbok Flats Game Reserve proclamation in 1898¹⁵¹ because of the continued effects of rinderpest and drought on poor whites. In response, the Acting Secretary was won over by De Beer’s argument and poor whites were allowed to hunt one head of game each week in the open season with a permit.¹⁵²

However, in October 1897, the Executive Council proclaimed five year hunting bans in various areas of the Transvaal, including the Nylstroom town lands and all state lands in the Zwagershoek ward of the Waterberg district¹⁵³, the latter of which was the

¹⁴⁸ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 81.

¹⁴⁹ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 81. She notes the vote was taken 15 November 1897. *Minutes of the Volksraad*, Article 1722, 15 November 1897.

¹⁵⁰ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 86-87.

¹⁵¹ Springbok Flats Game Reserve in Waterberg was proclaimed in 1898 after a petition from H.P. van der Walt in 1895. Carruthers states, “It seems that numerous local farmers had established ‘*wild kampen*’ (enclosures for game) in the vicinity, and Van der Walt suggested that twelve government farms be set aside as a similar game enclosure and that he be appointed warden of the combined reserve.” The Waterberg *landdrost* T.J. Krog supported Van der Walt’s request because according to Krog it was visitors, not farmers, who destroyed game, and “Krog stated that the other major group of hunters in the area were *whites who were too lazy to work* [my emphasis, for revealing class differences among whites] and who bartered venison with local black people.” Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 86. The petition was made directly to the State Secretary in a letter dated 14 January 1895, TA SS4562/3 R872/95. In this petition Van de Walt, Erasmus and Oppermans indicate they had already set up their farms to act as a reserve. The shooting of game was banned for a period of five years, after which the proclamation would be revisited and could be renewed. Van de Walt, Erasmus and Oppermans to State Secretary, 14 January 1895, TA SS4562/3 R872/95, National Archives of South Africa (NASA).

¹⁵² Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 87-88.

¹⁵³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 88-89.

northern and western most (bushveld) region of the district bordering the Limpopo.¹⁵⁴

This would have had major implications for black communities in the region and for the winter hunters that went to their bushveld farms. It is likely that there was not a great deal of enforcement, and the South African War interrupted any regular gamekeeper patrols that may have been planned. Hunting regulations were widely ignored and no widespread game saving social ethic had emerged, though that was slowly changing.¹⁵⁵ The driving force of hunting regulations was control of black Africans. De Beer was an important exception in the Volksraad, often voicing his opposition to restrictions on landowners and poor whites, and he sided more with the Executive Council in advocating for limiting restrictions on hunting by poor whites whose subsistence and winter hunts were culturally important.¹⁵⁶ What becomes clear through reading de Beer above, as a primary source, is that the subsistence hunt became acutely important in the Waterberg in the wake of rinderpest and drought in the last years of the 1890s. De Beer's comments as the 'exception' point to how game and hunting laws, while certainly concerned on one level with protection of animals, were also central to supporting landowners and poor whites by laying blame on black Africans and tightening the language that inscribed them as poachers in the law and the eyes of whites. But again, this was not homogenous, and De Beer's own concerns about a racist law regarding ostrich hunting and black Africans as not destructive (see above) at times, indicate that the Waterberg remained an eddy of commercial/market/subsistence hunting interests, out of sight and reach of more careful

¹⁵⁴ Indeed, Carruthers' map shows how a huge swath of what was the tsetse fly belt along the Limpopo was affected by this proclamation, (*Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 92). Carruthers noted that records only survive for Pongola (*Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 88-89). I confirmed this by looking for the Zwagershoek and other records during my research.

¹⁵⁵ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 90-91.

¹⁵⁶ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 90-91.

scrutiny where everyone *achter de berg* relied on each other to survive. Rather than merely an ‘obstructionist’ as Carruthers argued, de Beer here becomes an advocate for a particular relationship of white landowners and poor whites to game and the farm through hunting rights – rights that were supported by inscribing proscriptions against black Africans into the law.

De Beer’s interventions, as both a pattern and in their language as read by Carruthers, made clear that protection of wildlife was in part a specific protection of white access to the use of wildlife. His opposition to protectionist measures in most forms indicates the importance of claims to private land and access for a white rural population that claimed more connection to the land than perhaps the province or nation. Carruthers comments how “it is also perhaps a peculiar Victorian trait” to be able to legislate game protection while in the midst of the South African War.¹⁵⁷ Not only are the connections between hunting and war hereby mutually constituted,¹⁵⁸ but also it enables a recurring return/claim to the farm that took place following war.¹⁵⁹

Sir Godfrey Lagden, Secretary for Native Affairs after the war, took control of game protection in the Transvaal in 1902. The very first item on his agenda for game protection in April 1902 was not about game, but he stated, “[m]y object is to secure to the future Boers protection from trespass to which they will be at times roughly exposed.”¹⁶⁰ Again, despite the change to a British administration immediately after the

¹⁵⁷ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 114. The use of ‘Victorian trait’ here goes undiscussed by Carruthers. I read this as another use of language that indicates assumptions of the proper way to read game protection in the archives, principally as one of well-intended consequence that is above the politics of war or race, even if it sometimes gets embroiled within them.

¹⁵⁸ See discussion of Deneys Reitz’s *Commando* After Riders chapter as well as of *Koevoet* trackers in Securing Separation chapter.

¹⁵⁹ See Lagden’s quote below and the discussion of the Land Acts and hunting.

¹⁶⁰ Lagden to Solomon, 26 April 1902, TA LD83 AG 3143/A/02, NASA. Lagden does not specify from whom farmers were to be protected from trespass. The broad framing could include both poor whites and

war (which only lasted until the Union of South Africa was established in 1910), hunting concerns were centered on rural white private property and the security of the space of the farm through game laws.

In 1906 the government issued a survey to Native Commissioners in Transvaal regarding game destruction by ‘natives’ (due to the amount of complaints brought by the Transvaal Game Protection Association and Transvaal Land Owners Association).¹⁶¹ Yet they actually found that black Africans were not responsible for much killing of game and in fact had some of the best hunting lands around.¹⁶² However, the TPGA and TLOA continued to call for harsh ‘exemplary sentences’ to be meted out on ‘natives’ in order to deter contravention of game laws and further ‘extermination’ of game.¹⁶³ And, though punishments for contravention were haphazard, they were leveled more severely at black Africans than whites for same/similar offenses. Even black children were sentenced with fines or imprisonment.¹⁶⁴ Their lobby was so successful that the TPGA effected a legal change to the definition of landownership for blacks. Carruthers summarizes this as follows,

The Game Protection Association was determined to prevent blacks from hunting and its more powerful members in the Legislative Council were successful in curtailing the legal rights to game that blacks enjoyed as landowners. In Ordinance 6 of 1905 a new clause was inserted which specifically excluded blacks, legally

black Africans, though eventually more explicit racial language would enter into hunting laws regarding trespass that specifically targeted black Africans, see *Implements of Destruction and Securing Separation* chapters below.

¹⁶¹ Carruthers describes the TPGA as an urban elite racist hunting organization that was most concerned with protecting sport hunting and the rights of its own members as landowners in the Transvaal. It was a revival of the South African Game Protection Association from before the South African War. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 104. The Transvaal Land Owners Association was formed in 1903 and lobbied strongly for landowner rights. Both organizations had close contact with government officials, as evidenced by correspondence discussed below. Carruthers also notes that central politicians were members, “such as Lord Milner, Sir Arthur Lawley, and General Louis Botha...assuring ... support at the highest levels.” Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 158.

¹⁶² Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 108.

¹⁶³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 107-108.

¹⁶⁴ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 117-118.

resident in 'locations', 'native reserves' or on mission stations, from being classed as landowners or lessees. So vehement were sportsmen on this point that Lagden feared that the clause would be interpreted in such a way that would deprive even bona fide black landowners of their hunting rights. He therefore enjoined the Colonial Secretary to emphasize to all Magistrates that it would be a 'gross injustice' if black landowners were 'prohibited in this respect from doing what Europeans are entitled to do'.¹⁶⁵

Despite such attempts at intervention, the inexorable exclusion of black Africans from particular status in relation to the land is one layer of physical and administrative exile that was extended further with the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, and in the 1940s, recurred with the rescinding of 'occupier' status.¹⁶⁶

Part of the motivation by the TGPA and TLOA was due to removal of race as a distinguishing factor in the 1902 game laws, "thus making it possible for black landowners, in precisely the same way as whites, to shoot certain game animals without a licence in the open season," though it is doubtful that in practice this took place.¹⁶⁷ Like with the relationship between game reserves and 'native' reserves discussed above, the use of 'extermination' of game was not far removed from colonial/settler forms of hunting and preservation narratives' references to the 'extermination' of the threat of black Africans in the context of hunting (poachers) and also in war (see Securing Separation chapter). Clapperton Mavhunga argues that the colonial war on nature was also a colonial war on the native.¹⁶⁸ Mavhunga makes an important contribution to the literature here, specifically in his connecting specific practices of war and governance to naming and exiling or controlling (fencing and laying mines) and exterminating (warfare

¹⁶⁵ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 109.

¹⁶⁶ The recurrence of this debate in the 1940s, and the 'thickening' (Chamayou's chronogeography here) of the lines of policy discourse that layer and obscure racist language, were accumulating over these decades. In relation to the following arguments, see also the discussion on occupier status in the Implements of Destruction chapter below.

¹⁶⁷ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 106-107. These laws were Ordinance 29 of 1902.

¹⁶⁸ Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga, "Vermin Beings: On Pestiferous Animals and Human Game," *Social Text* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 152.

and poisoning) ‘vermin beings’. Mavhunga’s opening quote from Toynbee (1934) on the use of the word ‘native’ as a Western category heavily weighted with power and deployed to marginalize Africans in practice and thought is striking. Mavhunga takes as his starting point the racialized aspects of the distinction of ‘native’ in colonial governance and traces the military style extermination of ‘vermin’ through to its persistence in post-colonial governance in Zimbabwe.¹⁶⁹ I argue that what needs to be recognized here is that hunting is precisely a space where war and nature ‘coevolve’.¹⁷⁰ Mavhunga importantly draws attention to the overlapping use of pesticides, mines, military tactics, and hunting to eliminate both human and animal pests (killing game to eradicate tsetse, poisoning baboons, poisoning guerillas with anthrax cigarettes). The racialized aspect of this is embedded in the way European colonial hunting was embedded into policy and is the contribution that my work makes. Mavhunga states, “[t]his article argues that the reduction of humans to pests justifies the elimination of pests, sanctions policies of elimination, and blurs the division in weapons required to police people and to police nature.”¹⁷¹ The reduction of humans to pests, in Mavhunga’s colonial and post-colonial Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, is the cynegetic power of race (Chamayou) exercised in war as well as animal hunting, loaded by the State into the legal weaponry of colonialism and fired into the bush at anything that moved. From the fact that it was capital that underwrote the initial eradication and control of animals and humans, it follows that this same capital-justified violence would follow in the governance of nature.

¹⁶⁹ Mavhunga, “Vermin Beings,” 151.

¹⁷⁰ As Mavhunga notes, citing Edmund Russell’s *War and Nature*.

¹⁷¹ Mavhunga, “Vermin Beings,” 152.

Palala Game Reserve and Early 20th Century Waterberg Hunting and Farming

In 1906, the Transvaal Game Protection Association proposed the Palala Game Reserve in the Koedoesrand Ward of the Waterberg District as a way to prevent black poaching from Bechuanaland (modern day Botswana), as well as to stem what was perceived as excessive *biltong* hunting by urban-based market hunters (though some blame was leveled against Waterberg farmers as well).¹⁷² The TPGA submitted letters from white residents as evidence of a desire for the reserve.¹⁷³ James Stevenson-Hamilton¹⁷⁴ visited the Koedoesrand Ward of the Waterberg District in June 1907 to assess the region for a possible reserve to be named the Palala Game Reserve.¹⁷⁵

Stevenson-Hamilton noted that large game still to be found between Matlabas River

¹⁷² The Koedoesrand Ward is situated *achter die berg*. It is bordered on the west by the Palala River, to the north by the Limpopo River, and the east by the Magalakwene River. It extends south into the Waterberg mountains. The precise line of the southern border for the proposed Palala Reserve was debated. See discussion below.

¹⁷³ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 145.

¹⁷⁴ Stevenson-Hamilton was a prolific writer and his annual reports, journals, contributions to publications such as *Transvaal Agricultural Journal*, *The Field*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, *Journal of the South African Ornithologists' Union* and the *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire*, were widely circulated and known. The breadth of publications coupled with the popularity of hunting travelogue and adventure writing indicates the extensive literary work put to use to figure the black African subject (recall Czech's bibliography of over 600 titles alone from the *After Riders* and *Securing Separation* chapters). The sheer volume overwhelms with its stereotypes and works to educate an attention toward an assumed positionality of subjection for black Africans. For example, Stevenson-Hamilton wrote about the role of Kruger National Park as one to, "enable South African and overseas public, under conditions of great safety and comfort, to view wild life as it existed in the subcontinent previous to the arrival of the white man." J. Stevenson-Hamilton, "The great game of South Africa", *South African Railways and Harbours Magazine* (December 1927), 2032. Thinking with Bunn's argument about how the black game guard was positioned as part of the nature to be viewed in the park, I read Stevenson-Hamilton's use of 'wild life' prior to white arrival as a direct, yet subtle placement of black Africa as *something* to be viewed on safari, not *someones* able to be viewers.

¹⁷⁵ The copy of Stevenson-Hamilton's report in the archives on the Koedoesrand Ward area's suitability for the proposed Palala Game Reserve was not dated or addressed to anyone. It was forwarded on 28 June 1907 from W.M.H., Assistant Colonial Secretary (under direction from the Colonial Secretary) to The Inspector General South African Constabulary Johannesburg along with the sketch map made by Stevenson-Hamilton recommending the position of the suggested South African Constabulary posts. TPB 785 3013 VIII, Game Laws and Regulations, NASA. With a lack of title or address, I will refer to this report from here on as 'Stevenson-Hamilton's report on proposed Palala Game Reserve'. His letter repeats much of the information that is included in correspondence from Captain J.W. Bateson, District Commandant S.A.C. Waterberg; J.C. Krogh, Resident Magistrate Waterberg and others from Waterberg that was forwarded to Stevenson-Hamilton as he made his trip – for instance the details from Bateson about Chief Khama's men from Bechuanaland, and from Rankin about wild dogs, and from Krogh regarding the need to establish more police posts. I will reference those letters below when they are cited directly.

(border with Rustenburg) and the Magalakwene River (border with Zoutpansberg), primarily near Palala and Magalakwene rivers within 50 miles of the Limpopo. He felt there was plenty of game but that the game needed protection to ensure its future safety.¹⁷⁶

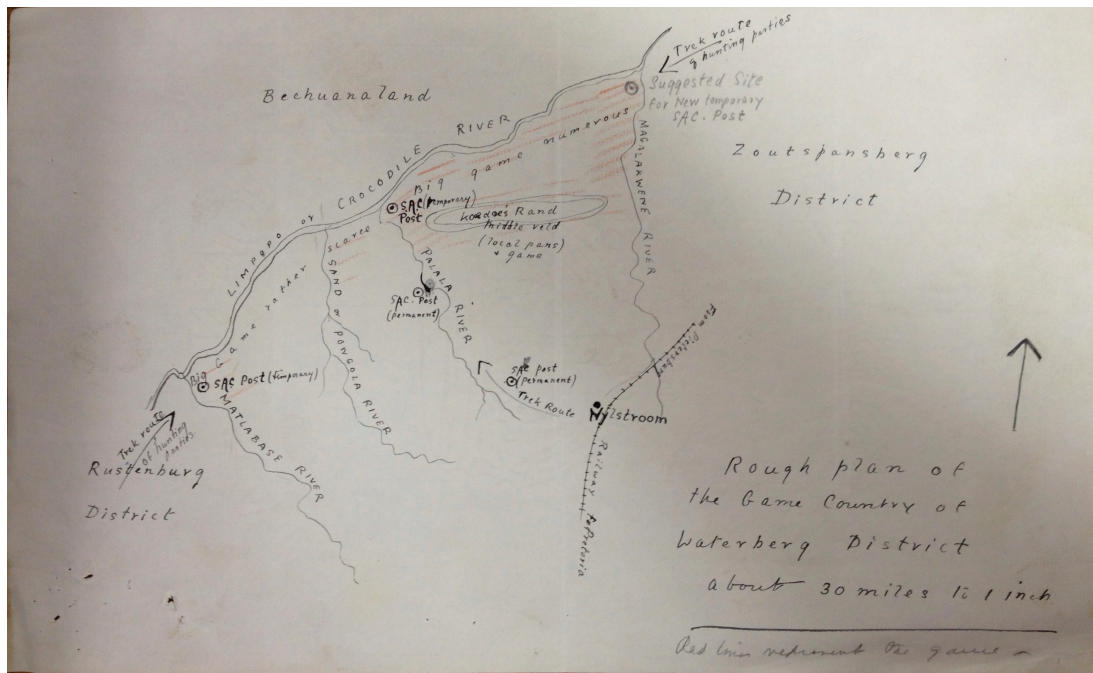


Figure 3 – Hand drawn map by Stevenson-Hamilton of the Waterberg District noting existing and proposed S.A.C. posts, June 1907. TPB 785 3013 VIII, NASA.

Stevenson-Hamilton stated that the Waterberg farmers usually trekked their cattle and hunted for themselves and their own biltong when in the Koedoesrand area. He was not concerned about their hunting, because they did not make a trade of biltong. Rather he was interested in securing the ability to hunt for the pot. The sentiment among farm/land owners *in* the area was that biltong hunting was the largest contributor to game

¹⁷⁶ He claims this is because not much game was shot between the end of the war and 1905 but he does not elaborate on why. Presumably this was because the war had interrupted the annual winter treks and it took time for farmers and their families to return to their annual hunt routines as they returned from war. Stevenson-Hamilton does state that increased hunting took place during the 1905 and 1906 trekking season - along the Palala, Sand and Magalakwene Rivers and that parties were normally from Waterberg, Rustenburg, and Zoutpansberg and from the cities. See the inset map drawn by Stevenson-Hamilton.

destruction.¹⁷⁷ Stevenson-Hamilton was concerned with “what may be called professional hunting parties” who are “not poor men,” implying that many of the local trekking Waterbergers are poor and rely on hunting. Stevenson-Hamilton wanted to curb the activity of men who aimed to make a profit on selling what they killed. He noted,

As matters are now, everyone else suffers from the system pursued by the professional biltong and skin hunters. The poor man, who perhaps goes down with his few head of stock, the prospector and the sportsman, and the farmer who has rented land for Winter grazing, find more and more difficulty in getting buck for their own consumption. In fact the interests of every class are being sacrificed in order that a limited number of men may enrich themselves without doing any work.¹⁷⁸

The concern for the ‘poor man’ here is in line with de Beer’s protection of the poor white in Waterberg and arguing against the Reserve. Landowning and *bywoner* farmers and

¹⁷⁷ In a letter dated 7 May 1906 from Captain Bateson District Commandant SAC Waterberg to J.C. Krogh, Resident Magistrate Waterberg, Bateson states that some destruction of game takes place by natives from Bechuanaland crossing the Limpopo but that patrols watch white hunters as closely as their limited patrol numbers allow [these white hunting parties were the biltong hunters hunting for the market]. Bateson emphasizes that, “The question of Game destruction is not one of indifference to the S.A.C. [South African Constabulary] as might be inferred by the letter of the Secretary of the Game Protection Association, and I have the opinion of leading residents of this District who know the Bushveld well that Game is gradually increasing in numbers and is decidedly more plentiful today than before the war.” Responding to a suggestion that the Native Affairs department be enlisted to help with patrolling the area, Bateson counters that he feels special rangers under the Native Affairs Department would be a duplicate and unnecessary expense and also notes that despite a large number of “Kaffir Police”, they have not brought any contravention cases forward. This was likely due to not wanting to be labeled an informant, discussed below. He also noted that the SAC would have brought more convictions in the previous year, however under the existing law it was almost useless to bring charges unless the offender was caught in the act. He added, “Further there is a very strong feeling of resentment amongst the white population at any interference by Native Affairs officials. Even in cases of dispute between whites and natives they much prefer being dealt with by the Magistrate and the class of men most likely to break the Game Law would certainly resist any Native Affairs Messenger.” This letter indicates that those in the Waterberg – Bateson and farmers, rather than being flooded with black African hunters from Bechuanaland, are more concerned with white biltong hunting and in a more established white presence/control. Yet at the same time the language around the “Native Affairs Messenger” [which could be white or black African] and “Kaffir Police” indicates a distrust of those outside and unknown to them, as well as a distrust of black African information without the corroboration of a white witness. Captain Bateson District Commandant SAC Waterberg to J.C. Krogh, Resident Magistrate Waterberg, 7 May 1906, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Stevenson-Hamilton’s report on proposed Palala Game Reserve’. According to Stevenson-Hamilton, professional hunters disguised their game where the “plan is for one man to hire a squat on a farm and take out a license to sell game. His associates then hand to him all the biltong which they secure on Crown or other private land in the vicinity; at the end of the season he loads the whole up on his waggons, takes it down and sells it as having been shot by him on his own land. Afterwards profits are divided.” He does not elaborate on who ‘associates’ are here, but likely many were black African auxiliary hunters.

poor Boers were opposed to these *biltong* hunters because dwindling and dispersed game made it more difficult for them to get their biltong and meat for consumption, yet Stevenson-Hamilton stated they did not report biltong market hunters much because they did “not want to make enemies and possibly create trouble for themselves.”¹⁷⁹ I read this lack of reporting as pointing to the tenuous foothold of white interests in the Waterberg at the turn of the century. Conflict of interests between reporting excessive biltong hunting and ‘not making enemies’ within the white community indicates that one concern among the white population traversing the region *achter die berg* was about unifying a white presence in the region for the security of white interests.¹⁸⁰ Regarding hunting, this was seemingly not in the face of a large competition or resistance by black African hunters in the area. There were not many ‘natives’ in the area outside of Selika’s location [Seleka] along the Palala and according to Stevenson-Hamilton they had recently been fined heavily for killing Royal Game so he felt they, and the few other black Africans in the area, were not a threat to game numbers.¹⁸¹ The central focus of Stevenson-Hamilton’s recommendations was restricting biltong hunting and this was to be effected in two key ways – limiting permits to shoot game and increasing police presence and punishments

¹⁷⁹ ‘Stevenson-Hamilton’s report on proposed Palala Game Reserve.’ This comment indicates the long history of the problems associated with, and difficulty of, talking to poachers. See my Introduction, Securing Separation, and Blood Lines chapters.

¹⁸⁰ As tsetse retreated following the extensive eradication efforts after the 1896 rinderpest, allowing more horseback hunting by whites, and as farmers acquired more cattle, the number of farmers/hunters making the winter trek increased. Stevenson-Hamilton remarked that this was happening as evidenced by the 1905 and 1906 winter trek observations. ‘Stevenson-Hamilton’s report on proposed Palala Game Reserve’.

¹⁸¹ ‘Stevenson-Hamilton’s report on proposed Palala Game Reserve’. I could not find any record of this fine. It was issued from Nylstroom according to his report. He also noted that “some Bechuanas” crossed the Limpopo to hunt and take game back across, but felt that a stern letter and warning would keep them in check. It is unclear if Stevenson-Hamilton actually spoke with or witnessed this or whether he was just repeating information contained in a letter from Captain Bateson about Chief Khama’s men crossing from Bechuanaland, a copy of which Stevenson-Hamilton was given prior to visiting the Waterberg. See Captain Bateson S.A.C. to J.C. Krogh Resident Magistrate Waterberg, 4 June 1907, TPB 785 3013 VIII Game Laws and Regulations, NASA.

for contravention.¹⁸² For the latter he recommended establishing a S.A.C. post near the confluence of the Magalakwene and Limpopo rivers with three white men and “adequate number of native constables” to check those coming from Zoutpansberg. According to him this had been successful with the posts at both the Matlabas and Palala confluence with the Limpopo. This suggestion seems to be a restatement of information provided to Stevenson-Hamilton in the copy of a letter dated 19 June 1907 from J.C. Krogh Resident Magistrate Waterberg to the Colonial Secretary in Pretoria encouraging establishment of police posts along the Pongola (Sand River) and Matlabas in order to protect game, among other things. This was deemed necessary at least until the game reserve proposal could be reviewed.¹⁸³ It is significant that this push for increased policing that was to include other duties came through game protection. While there are a number of complaints regarding white biltong hunters at this time, the resulting game legislation continued to center on restricting black access (at the provincial Transvaal level). Thus there was a disconnect, or at least a differently articulated concern, regarding hunting in the Waterberg from that of other regions of the Transvaal. The game laws took on an important role in justifying policing and securing what was viewed as a remote hunting frontier. Regarding white constables and black African constables, Stevenson-Hamilton was clear about how he regarded white evidence and oversight as essential to effective policing, stating,

In my previous letter I could not see my way to recommend the advisability of appointing special native detectives for the [Waterberg] district; needless to say

¹⁸² The issuing of permits to shoot could be done in two ways. Firstly by a landowner giving permission in writing. Secondly, for Crown or government farms, the Resident Magistrate of the district could issue a permit. The issuing of permits was laid out in the Transvaal Game Preservation Ordinance of 1905. See *Handbook of the Game and Fish Preservation Laws of the Transvaal Province, 1911* (Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationary Office, 1911), 7.

¹⁸³ [J.C.] Krogh [Waterberg Resident Magistrate] to Colonial Secretary in Pretoria, 19 June 1907, TPB 785 3013 VIII Game Laws and Regulations, NASA.

this only had reference to natives acting far from control. I think much might be done in this way provided some white man is fairly close at hand whom the natives can run and fetch to the spot when occasion requires.¹⁸⁴

Recall here my discussion of *Jock of the Bushveld* from the After Riders chapter and the weight carried by the word of white men on treks and hunts. *Jock* was published the same year as Stevenson-Hamilton's visit to the Waterberg and its narrative was set in the eastern Transvaal Lowveld near the Sabi and Singwetsi Reserves over which Stevenson-Hamilton was warden and which would eventually become Kruger National Park. In contrast with the Lowveld that Stevenson-Hamilton was familiar with, the Waterberg was an area 'far from control', *achter die berg*, and a place that he noted, due to the vastness of the country to be covered, that was difficult to police effectively with so few constables.¹⁸⁵ The tactic for countering the lack of police presence and their limited ability to patrol a remote area such as the Waterberg was to empower landowners with police powers and rights on their property. The hunting laws were a means to this by establishing control through the farm – bringing 'natives' gradually but inexorably into 'closer control' of a proximately close white man.

Remarking on the imperial roots of benevolence and its relationship to Kruger National Park through the figures of Stevenson-Hamilton and Smuts, Bunn states that,

Thus the Kruger National Park, I would argue, is a manifestation both of the individualising and totalising aspects of the South African state: it exhibits forms of governmentality, not only in its administration of game laws and combating poachers, but also through the control of animal populations. Success in the field

¹⁸⁴ 'Stevenson-Hamilton's report on proposed Palala Game Reserve'. I could not find any reference of file in the archives that contained the 'previous letter' mentioned here.

¹⁸⁵ The requests to increase police presence aimed at game protection in the Waterberg were met with cost and bureaucracy prohibitions. In a letter dated 13 May 1909 from the Commissioner of the Transvaal Police to the Assistant Colonial Secretary it was stated that more police presence was not possible and in fact the Waterberg District was over its 'establishment' (quota or limit of police) and "will have to come down to their proper figures." Signature illegible. Commissioner of the Transvaal Police to Assistant Colonial Secretary, 13 May 1909, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

of wildlife population management then becomes metonymically associated with the ability to govern other populations elsewhere. Secondly, this administrative capacity was built on an ideology of custodial care, for the health of species, of 'natives', and of individual visitors. Pastoral power, force presenting itself as care...¹⁸⁶

Here Bunn is reading benevolence through Foucault's notion of 'pastoral power'. I want to connect this back to Chamayou's invocation of the pastoral manhunt discussed in my Introduction as a way of illustrating how 'force presenting itself as care', as Bunn puts it, is centrally about caring for a 'flock' of people by identifying and ridding the population of undesirable people. Or, put another way, force is exercised as a means of asserting sovereignty. In the case of the Waterberg this was not the expelling of people from a reserve, but of securing rights to the land and the game for the white 'flock' through the farm and drawing Africans into closer relationships of control/care, see Stevenson-Hamilton above: "provided some white man is fairly close at hand whom the natives can run and fetch to the spot when occasion requires". Calls for increased S.A.C posts were essentially a call for increased surveillance by the state, and invitation for a government manhunt. Stevenson-Hamilton seems to be encouraging an extension of this role on private farms as long as they are under 'proper' white surveillance (also a reference to the Victorian values that Carruthers notes above). At the time of Stevenson-Hamilton's visit the more remote *achter die berg* farms in the Waterberg were mainly Crown Land and Government Farms that were slowly being listed for sale in the government gazette.¹⁸⁷

In rendering his opinion on the proposed Palala Game Reserve, Stevenson-Hamilton declared that a reserve was unnecessary and that

¹⁸⁶ Bunn, "An Unnatural State," 204.

¹⁸⁷ One argument in favor of the Palala Game Reserve was that the northern area of the Koedoesrand Ward nearest the Limpopo was not yet settled by white farmers. See discussion below from exchanges in 1909.

The entire prohibition of shooting would create dissatisfaction, and it must be remembered that the eastern districts being closed, only the North and North-west Transvaal remains. Further a reserve could not be instituted without considerable outlay.

Apart from the ‘considerable outlay’ (costs associated with policing, fencing, out buildings and other infrastructure), of which the patrol costs alone according to the Transvaal Police Commissioner cited above was already extended too far in the Waterberg, Stevenson-Hamilton’s concern over possible ‘dissatisfaction’ is key here. The closed ‘eastern districts’ in this quote above were the Sabi and Singwetsi Reserves in Lowveld where Stevenson-Hamilton had jurisdiction as warden. What ‘remained’ in the North and North-west (Zoutpansberg and Waterberg districts) was the ability to hunt and trek in the mode of the *voortrekker* past. What can be read here is that in the post-South African War and pre-Union of South Africa Waterberg, the winter hunt was central to struggles over the plight and future of the rural white population. So much so that Stevenson-Hamilton recommended an organized undercover hunt, essentially a manhunt, to further identify and prosecute the biltong hunters that were alleged to be the cause of game destruction.

In his letter, Stevenson-Hamilton recommended to ask the Inspector General of the South African Constabulary to coordinate an undercover hunt of plain-clothes constables in the Waterberg comprised of

two selected constables (unknown in that district) good bushmen and good linguists as special detectives...[who] should have two or three trustworthy natives to accompany them who are unknown in the district. A local native guide should be hired who would not be aware of the character of the party.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ ‘Stevenson-Hamilton’s report on proposed Palala Game Reserve.’ He noted that the Inspector S.A.C. Nylstroom had already made some arrangements like this with natives and a white man, but they were concerned about testifying and being found out as informants. In a letter dated March 1907 from Mrs. Eugenie Ahlborn to the Transvaal Game Protection Association she described the destruction of big game by whites hunters from Waterberg along the Limpopo and Magala[kwene] Rivers as a product of the

This undercover hunt was to secretly report suspicious parties back to the Inspector S.A.C. at Nylstroom. The emphasis on the nature of evidence is telling of the sentiments about trust and the law:

The natives of the party would act as detectives and one or two of them might even be able to take service with suspected parties. But I cannot overstate the importance of having white corroborative evidence at hand.

This undercover hunt was a recommendation, and Stevenson-Hamilton qualified it by noting that if such an undercover hunt was not practicable, they should send

a few reliable native constables from other districts, disguised, who would try to attach themselves to one or other of the parties and bring their information secretly to the nearest police post when the time comes to act.

Stevenson-Hamilton stated that not much reliable information could be gained from ‘local natives’ because other than at Selika [Seleka] there were not many black Africans in the area, and that they were also unwilling to testify regarding game destruction.¹⁸⁹ Stevenson-Hamilton does not state why those from Seleka were unwilling to report, but I suggest that the increased concern with policing the Waterberg via game protection, and thus contravention of the game laws, was a motivating factor. As one of the remaining

problem of biltong hunting. On her role in reporting this, Ahlborn writes that it was, “unpleasant to me to be a spy or informer, only my pleasure in this game makes me write you thus” (Mrs. Eugenie Ahlborn to the Transvaal Game Protection Association, March 1907). In another letter dated 11 March 1907 from John Shaw to E. Rooth asking him to bring to the attention of the TGPA [Rooth, from Pretoria, was a TGPA member] that the “wholesale killing of game for biltong” must be stopped and that what was needed was to restrict permits, increase police presence, to stop the “Jews from Johannesburg” (who are the worst culprits according to Shaw) from hiring natives to shoot on their behalf, or from taking out permits in Tuli (along the Tuli river in what is now southern Zimbabwe) and then hunting both sides of Limpopo and passing off Transvaal (Waterberg/Zoutpansberg) game as from Tuli. Shaw asserted that police and inspectors needed to be present at least nine months each year because local farmers, hunters, and “natives” knew the veld and the “secret waters” and would flee to the “vastness of the middelveld and its so to say secret waters” to hunt where it is difficult to find them (John Shaw to E. Rooth, 11 March 1907). A letter dated 6 June 1906 from J.C. Anderson to the Game Protection Society cited biltong hunting as destroying game in the area and that sale of game products for financial gain needed to be prohibited (J.C. Anderson to the Game Protection Society, 6 June 1906). Based on their inclusion in this file with Stevenson-Hamilton’s report, it is likely that Stevenson-Hamilton was given copies of these letters prior to his visit to the Waterberg. All letters found in TPB 785 3013 VIII, Game Laws and Regulations, NASA.

¹⁸⁹ ‘Stevenson-Hamilton’s report on proposed Palala Game Reserve.’

areas with game to be hunted for the pot, relatively unsettled by white farmers, and with the limited ability to enforce the laws, black Africans *achter die berg* would have likely attempted to remain off the radar of white farmers and trekkers, likely aiding them in their hunts as part of a continuing and collaborative subsistence hunting and trading, rather than risking mistrust and animosity. Being labeled as an informant, as mentioned in the note above, would be detrimental to reputations and livelihood. Recall that Seleka is where Arkwright stopped to hunt along the Limpopo in the 1840s. The politics of the hunting trade would have been well known and integrated into the workings of the community (see my discussion of Arkwright in the After Riders chapter). In my discussions with Kgosi Phetogo David Seleka about Arkwright's journal and hunting in the Seleka area, he did not recall any specifics but confirmed that Kobe Seleka would have been Kgosi [chief] at that time and that indeed hunting took place along the Palala.¹⁹⁰

This undercover hunt is precisely a manhunt disguised as a game hunt and the entanglement cannot be overlooked: the skills of 'bushmen' and linguists, the importance of white corroborative evidence. Concern over testifying and being found out as an informant echo in the post-apartheid with my efforts at obtaining on the record interviews. The overlap of military counter-insurgency tactics to track humans with tracking animal quarry was here being recommended as an *official* police action. The difficulties and secrecy associated with approaching illegal, black (or white) hunters is evident already in the early 1900's. Anxiety around this is related directly to poachers, and informants, being hunted down. This erasure/foreclosing is an indication of the

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Kgosi Phetogo David Seleka, 4 August 2017.

violent colonial roots of the impossibility of retrieving African/poacher ‘voice’ that I discussed in my Introduction.

Such efforts were memorialized in a memoir titled *African Man Hunts* written by H.F. Trew, Deputy Commissioner of the South African Police detailing his work with the South African Constabulary from 1901-1908, the Transvaal Police from 1908-1912, and the South African Police from 1912-1929.¹⁹¹ Most of the anecdotes that make up Trew’s account relate to specific cases of detective work in attempts to bring cases to resolution during his time in the SAC. What interests me here is his book as a narrative, with the unabashed title *African Man Hunts* and the clues he lays down for how hunting and intelligence gathering intertwine as a backdrop to his police work. In one of his first stories, Trew noted the sophistication of black African communication networks, their “system of intelligence,” where

[t]hey had spies everywhere; while they were continually travelling from kraal to kraal, and every native, man, woman or child they met was cross-examined with great skill. Every minute happening in the kraal of the witness was inquired into, also who and what they had met along the path.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ H.F. Trew, *African Man Hunts* (London: Blackie & Son, Ltd., 1938), Preface. Trew arrived in South Africa from Australia in 1900 as a volunteer lieutenant for the Bushman’s Contingent of the Reserve of Officers to fight with the British. He noted of the men in his troop that “they were nearly all farmers or farmers’ sons, first-class horsemen and good shots.” (8). Through connections in Australia and his service in the South African War he secured a commission in Baden-Powell’s newly formed South African Constabulary in 1901 where he was placed in the Northern Transvaal Division (13-17). He subsequently was posted to Natal and to Pilgrim’s Rest (in the eastern Transvaal on the escarpment above the Lowveld, with its “world-famed Kruger National Park”). Of his time in Pilgrim’s Rest Trew remarked “The whole area was populated with wild Kaffirs who had seen little of civilization, and still maintained their savage life dominated by their witch doctors and tribal laws.” (23). This is Trew writing in 1938, using ‘wild’ as a uncivilized term and devoting only one sentence to this description of black Africans. As a police memoir of popular literature, this is yet one more example of how narrative and official discourse overlap in understanding of race in South Africa. Trew writes, “Man hunting, whatever may be said to the contrary, is the most exciting sport in the world” (235).

¹⁹² Trew, *African Man Hunts*, 36. Later Trew describes this system as a “bush telegraph” (239).

Trew connects this extensive system of information to the practices of witch doctors throwing bones to predict the future.¹⁹³ While he does make a connection to the practices of western science used in the labs at Pretoria (in their failed efforts at identifying poisons used by these same witch doctors),¹⁹⁴ I want to emphasize a different point of connection to the sciences by returning to my discussion of Liebenberg from the Introduction and from above. Recall that Liebenberg connects the art of tracking with the practices of modern scientific practices of inquiry. The science of detective work and the gathering of information is likewise, certainly here for Trew, also an art of tracking.¹⁹⁵ Trew here links his experiences in the literal manhunt of war¹⁹⁶ with his policing work in the South African Constabulary and comments that he learned extensively about navigating his duties in the bushveld from the black African “intelligence department” he encountered and “taking advantage of this knowledge when shooting [hunting] in the low veld.”¹⁹⁷ All of this experience was combined for him to execute the S.A.C.’s “first and most important work...to assist the Repatriation Department in getting the returning Boer

¹⁹³ Trew, *African Man Hunts*, Chapter IV “Witch Doctors and Crime,” 35-41.

¹⁹⁴ Trew, *African Man Hunts*, 36.

¹⁹⁵ Recall too that Ginzburg (see my Introduction), while emphasizing hunting’s originary connections to narrative, is putting this in conversation with a discussion of Sherlock Holmes’ (and thus Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s) powers of deduction that are linked closely with a background in medical training. In chapter XXI “The Human Bloodhound” Trew relates the story of Umdisa, one of his Native Constables, who tracked a violent criminal, Joseph Sopela, for months and eventually killed him in a fight when Sopela resisted arrest. Trew frames the opening of the chapter by likening it to “entrancing detective stories” (Trew, *African Man Hunts*, 191). When describing Umdisa’s report of his extensive tracking and battle with Sopela, Trew states, “The Zulus area a wonderful nation of tale-tellers, and I should think Umdisa must have been one of their stars. He not only told the story but acted parts of it, particularly when it came to the fight with Sopela; he showed every feint, every thrust, so that when he finished I felt inclined to clap my hands as one would do in a theatre” (197). Umdisa’s tale is for Trew a perfect example of the ‘system of intelligence’ utilized across black African communities in the way that Umdisa relied on information from local black Africans as he followed the trail of Sopela. In a different case when searching for a missing man, Trew laments the lack of a “good black-tracker” to which white men cannot be compared (239). This thread runs through the After Riders chapter (after rider as the good black-tracker) as well as through the Blood Lines chapter and the system of intelligence in white anti-poaching policing.

¹⁹⁶ Trew declines in *African Man Hunts* to relate his experience of the South African War citing that people are tired of hearing war stories (14).

¹⁹⁷ Trew, *African Man Hunts*, 37.

population settled on their devastated farms.”¹⁹⁸ This included the work of “disarming natives” in order to secure control over the rural areas and mitigate any possible recurrence of violence in the immediate aftermath of the South African War.¹⁹⁹

Returning to the Palala Game Reserve, instead of securing the area through the proclamation of a reserve, it was instead to be done through the continued support in settling white farmers in the region, and despite the assertions that the Koedoesrand region was not suitable to livestock or agriculture.²⁰⁰

Stevenson-Hamilton left open the possibility of a Palala Game Reserve in the future on the chance that, “circumstances in the country may have changed or that its establishment may present fewer difficulties than at present.”²⁰¹ In the files dealing with the Palala Game Reserve there is correspondence that extended through 1914 that attends to recurring – but ultimately abandoned – efforts at establishing the reserve.

Stepping back from the specifics of Stevenson-Hamilton’s visit to report on the proposed Palala Game Reserve, there were also two organizations intimately involved and uniquely intertwined in debates about hunting in the Waterberg and the Transvaal more broadly. These were the Transvaal Game Protection Association (TGPA) and the

¹⁹⁸ Trew, *African Man Hunts*, 23.

¹⁹⁹ Trew, *African Man Hunts*, Chapter VI “Disarming Natives,” 50-53. He notes how he discovered a “most extraordinary collection of different types” of arms in this endeavor ranging from old muskets to elephant guns, and more contemporary breech loaders (51). For a further discussion of the proliferation of arms through hunting and trade, see Clapperton Mavhunga, “Firearms Diffusion, Exotic and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the Lowveld Frontier, South Eastern Zimbabwe 1870-1920,” *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society* 1, no. 2 (August 2003): 201-231. Also Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power* (117) for a discussion on hunting in the northern frontier and the technology of the gun and its role as a symbol of modernity in the contested political history of the Transvaal and South Africa.

²⁰⁰ Assistant to the Administrator [Colonial Secretary] to [J.C. Krogh] Resident Magistrate Nylstroom, June 28 1910 and J.C. Krogh, Resident Magistrate Nylstroom to Secretary for Lands, May 17, 1910. Both letters in TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Game Reserves Limpopo River and Palala Game Reserve, NASA.

²⁰¹ ‘Stevenson-Hamilton’s report on proposed Palala Game Reserve.’

Transvaal Land Owners Association (TLOA).²⁰² These two organizations had direct contact with government officials and their concerns were heard, though not always supported. Such opposition is indicative of a ‘turf’ war not only between hunters, landowners, and poor whites, but also between conservation and hunting, and between local, provincial and national interests/institutions. Yet, to return to the discussion about sovereignty and the state of exception from above, these competing interests all endeavored to claim sovereignty through their actions taken on behalf of the idea of a provincial/state government needed to control the land. Hunting cut across these spaces and its governance was central to the debates. Yet the Waterberg as a region served as a state of exception, both as a space outside of the law (due to the difficulty of enforcement), but also as a space harboring those contravening the law (*biltong* hunters and other poachers) that needed to be policed. As I stated above, “The state of exception as the first principle of sovereignty²⁰³ is what Chamayou identifies as sovereign power’s claiming of the violent manhunt (Nimrod) to acquire and govern subjects. Chamayou’s exile is Baucom’s slave (subject to the law but rendered outside representation within the state/law). The debate across these organizations, between Boer and British (see discussion of Bunn above), began to coalesce along racial lines through the discourse on and of hunting.

In January 1906, over a year before Stevenson-Hamilton visited the Waterberg, the assistant colonial secretary reached out to the TGPA asking for their

²⁰² TGPA was organized as an effort to address the diminished game populations which were the result of excessive hunting in the 19th century. The TLOA was organized to convey the concerns of landowners, particularly farmers, in and advocate for their rights.

²⁰³ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 186.

recommendations on Palala Reserve boundaries.²⁰⁴ Robert Dey, Secretary of the TGPA responded the next month with proposed boundaries, but emphasized that the establishment of reserve was not sufficient to protect game without adequate ranger staff to stem the practices of people crossing the Limpopo from Bechuanaland to hunt.²⁰⁵ Later that month the Assistant Colonial Secretary responded, informing Dey that the government would not establish a Game Reserve in the Palala/Koedoesrand area despite the TGPA request.²⁰⁶ Despite this initial rejection of a reserve, the TGPA continued to collect evidence of “ruthless slaughter of game” in the Waterberg and petitioned for revisiting the proposal.²⁰⁷ One letter dated 12 February 1907 seems to have drawn enough attention to warrant an official review of the proposal.²⁰⁸ A Captain H.M. George of the Uganda Rifles wrote to Lord Selbourne claiming excessive destruction of game during winter treks along the Limpopo in the Waterberg and also putting himself up for the post of Game Warden for the area. Selbourne read the letter with interest toward game protection (not toward giving George the position of Game Warden) and forwarded it to General Smuts for further investigation.²⁰⁹ It is clear that George’s letter was circulated to

²⁰⁴ Assistant Colonial Secretary to Transvaal Game Protection Association, 9 January 1906, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²⁰⁵ Robert Dey TGPA Secretary to Assistant Colonial Secretary, 9 February 1906, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²⁰⁶ Assistant Colonial Secretary to Secretary Robert Dey TGPA, 23 February 1906, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²⁰⁷ See letters TGPA to Assistant Colonial Secretary, 5 April 1906; W.H. Dolton Resident Magistrate Pietersberg to The Under Secretary Colonial Secretary’s Office, 27 April 1906; Captain Bateson District Commandant SAC Waterberg to J.C. Krogh Resident Magistrate Waterberg, 7 May 1906. These letters indicate that there was not a large black African population in the Koedoesrand Ward area of Waterberg where the proposed reserve was to be located (or in neighboring Zoutpansberg) and thus these communities were not responsible for large scale destruction of game. They argue that biltong hunting for profit was the main cause of game destruction. Responses to these letters stated that the matter was being investigated and information was forwarded to Waterberg officials and the SAC. Letters in file TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²⁰⁸ Capt. H.M. George, Uganda Rifles to Lord Selbourne, 12 February 1907, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²⁰⁹ Selbourne to Smuts, 4 March 1907, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

the Waterberg for consideration because three days after Selbourne forwarded the letter to Smuts, Captain Bateson wrote to J.C. Krogh stating he felt that George's claims were exaggerated, despite the fact that the, "general opinion of the old residents is that the game is quite holding it's own, and is now more plentiful than before the late war."²¹⁰ Krogh then wrote to the Under Colonial Secretary, Mr. Gorges, reiterating Bateson's claims that George was exaggerating.²¹¹ The conflicting reports seem to have been enough to push for Stevenson-Hamilton's visit where his role as Warden of Sabi and Singwetsi Reserves would have provided the government and the TGPA with an expert opinion on the establishment of a reserve.

Yet even after Stevenson-Hamilton's recommendation not to create a reserve, the push continued for protection of the area. Smuts continued to consider the possibility of a reserve. He felt that "tremendous slaughter" was taking place though he wanted also to know how many whites were settled in the area and whether the reserve could be proclaimed while still protecting the shooting rights of landowners on their farms.²¹² This was a full two years after Stevenson-Hamilton's report. In a letter dated 17 February

²¹⁰ Capt. Bateson, District Commandant SAC Waterberg to RM Waterberg, 7 March 1907, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²¹¹ J.C. Krogh RM Nylstroom to Under Colonial Secretary, 14 March 1907, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA. Others in neighboring districts weighed in as well. The Resident Magistrate from Pietersburg wrote to the Colonial Secretary asserting that Captain George's letter was a "gross misrepresentation of facts from start to finish" and claiming that Mr. George only wanted a job. He supported Bateson stating that Bateson was all over the Palala area the previous hunting season and did not witness the herds of game or extensive hunting that George claimed (W.H. Bolton Resident Magistrate Pietersburg to Colonial Secretary, 21 March 1907). Bolton's information was taken from a letter he received from F.W. Jarvis, Inspector District Commandant Zoutpansberg who stated George was exaggerating, basing this on his own patrols of the region which made him familiar with hunting in the Waterberg and along the Zoutpansberg border with Waterberg along the Magalakwene (F.W. Jarvis, Inspector District Commandant Zoutpansberg to Resident Magistrate Pietersburg, 8 March 1907). Both letters in file TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²¹² Smuts' opinion was related by Under Secretary Gorges in a letter dated 13 February 1909 from Mr. Gorges to RG Nicholson. Gorges wrote that Smuts' opinion was that if a reserve was formed, "all shooting will of course be prevented but all owners would have entirely unrestricted rights of access to their farms and farming operations etc., would not be interfered with in any way." Mr. Gorges to R.G. Nicholson, 13 February 1909, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

1909 from R. Granville Nicholson Waterberg to Mr. E.M.L. Gorges Under Colonial Secretary, Nicholson discussed the proposed boundaries of Palala Game Reserve and recommended that Claremont farm on the Palala river be the southernmost farm because the farm Ballymore was gazetted by the Crown Lands Disposal Ordinance and was at the time the northernmost designated farm in the area (apart from a small white settlement at Grobler's Pan near the Limpopo on the Magalakwene River). Nicholson viewed the area as unsuitable for agriculture or livestock and felt the whites there would not be able to eke out a living and would thus resort to shooting game to survive. In this letter he recommended the establishment of a reserve in this northern area of the Koedoesrand Ward, boundaries supported by Smuts and relayed in an early correspondence from Mr. Gorges in a letter dated 13 February 1909. Importantly, the only significant black African community in the area, as noted by white officials, was at Seleka and this fell within the boundaries of the proposed Palala Game Reserve. However as Nicholson's letter quoted in the epigraph to this chapter above shows, two weeks later he declined to support the reserve and reiterated Stevenson-Hamilton's 1907 assessment that it would not be established in order to protect the development of the region for a "good class of settlers." This exchange between Nicholson and Gorges was followed by a series of letters from February through May 1909 between Nicholson, Gorges, the Transvaal Police, the Secretary for Lands, and the TGPA exchanging requests for details of the farm borders and beacons to be used for the proposed Palala Game Reserve and whether the Secretary of Native Affairs would object to the reserve based on the 'natives' within the boundaries, which he did not.²¹³ General consensus was reached that policing needed to

²¹³ Letters in file TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

be increased, though costs remained prohibitive²¹⁴ and thus restriction of shooting permits was promoted.²¹⁵ Again, the decision not to proclaim a reserve hinged on settling white farms and a ‘good class’ of white farmers. A letter dated 17 April 1909 from the Assistant Colonial Secretary to the TGPA, stated that the Colonial Secretary “has been reluctantly compelled to abandon the idea of establishing a Reserve in that area as it feared that such action might tend to check the present tendency to take up farms in that area and so hinder development of the Colony in that direction.”²¹⁶

In 1910, the Transvaal Land Owners Association enters this file with a letter advocating for a view to securing shooting rights for landowners and ensuring support and compliance by its members with the limiting of permits for others to shoot.²¹⁷ Further, the TLOA explicitly solicited government support for increased policing when TLOA Secretary H.A. Baily wrote to Under Secretary Gorges encouraging him to, “use your influence to strengthen the Police in the Ward. I am personally pessimistic where game preservation is attempted without police patrols.”²¹⁸ The words “strengthen the Police” are underlined by hand in the typed letter and there is a marginal handwritten note at the bottom [signature illegible] stating that the refusal of landowners to issue permits will go a long way toward protecting game in Koedoesrand and that the matter of strengthening police could be left for the present. At the same time, enforcing the game law was difficult because, as Inspector District Commandant H.J. Kirkpatrick stated in

²¹⁴ Commissioner of Transvaal Police to Assistant Colonial Secretary, 13 May 1909, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²¹⁵ Secretary of Lands to Assistant Colonial Secretary, 19 May 1909, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²¹⁶ Assistant Colonial Secretary to the TGPA, 17 April 1909, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²¹⁷ H.A. Baily Secretary of TLOA and Mr. Gorges, June 1910 correspondence, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²¹⁸ H.A. Baily TLOA to E.M.L. Gorges Under Colonial Secretary, 4 June 1910, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

his letter to Krogh regarding contravention of the game law, “[i]t is impossible to bring a case forward unless they are caught in the act.”²¹⁹ Kirkpatrick here also refers to the Koedoesrand Ward as “uninhabited” and full of game, yet in the very next sentence asserts that wild dogs are a significant problem at “Selika Stad” [Seleka]. This sleight of hand that declared land ‘uninhabited’ despite a significant black African community in the area indicates the sentiment regarding, and the racial lens determining what it meant for a place to be ‘populated.’ Settlement was a white phenomenon associated with the space of the farm. Since, according to Nicholson’s letter above, the northernmost white settlement at the time was the farm Ballymore, what remained of the area was seen as empty land. In a response to Kirkpatrick on the same day, Krogh argued that that despite the TLOA reports of “indiscriminate and ruthless destruction of game,” he felt these claims were exaggerated and that despite limited policing, the dearth of prosecutions in Court records indicated less instance on illegal shooting of game.²²⁰ One way I read this is that the TLOA was focused on retaining shooting rights for their landowners as Crown Lands were being sold through the Crown Land Disposal Ordinance and the number of landowners in the area was increasing. This would be one cog in the wheel of establishing landowner rights and limiting others. With the game law written in language that specifically restricted black African hunters, both the TLOA concerns and the poor white concerns were articulated via land through restrictions on Africans. Despite

²¹⁹ H.J. Kirkpatrick, Inspector District Commandant, Waterberg District to Resident Magistrate, Nylstroom (J.C. Krogh), 11 May 1910, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²²⁰ J.C. Krogh, Resident Magistrate Nylstroom to The District Commandant Transvaal Police Nylstroom, 11 May 1910, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

Krogh's further recommendation for a reserve and more police²²¹, the government's response remained to argue against a reserve citing expenses and "a fear that the development of the area would be hindered."²²² Farmers then banded together and sent a petition for a reserve on 5 August 1910 from 50 farmers, with the retention of shooting rights for owners of farms in the reserve, but this too was rejected.²²³

1910 of course saw the establishment of the Union of South Africa. This transition brought a new Resident Magistrate to the Waterberg, A.P.S. Pienaar, but the discussion remained focused on policing and farms. Pienaar wrote in January 1911 to the Acting Secretary to the Administration lamenting that, "it is a pity that this uninhabited area teeming with Game cannot be preserved" because, "there is an end to this matter." However, he cites Kirkpatrick's correspondence from the year before regarding policing needs for game protection, but states that police are restricted to 'inhabited' areas and the 'uninhabited' areas are where the game is. Again there was continuity of sentiment about what constitutes uninhabited. Without the reserve, landowners, via Baily and the TLOA, pressed forward with the plan to restrict the issuing of shooting permits for non-landowners and retaining the those rights for owners. Each year from 1911 to 1914 correspondence between Baily and the provincial government offices in Pretoria discussed and renewed the prohibition of shooting in the area without permits, and

²²¹ J.C. Krogh, Resident Magistrate Nylstroom to Secretary for Lands, 17 May 1910; Assistant to the Administrator to Resident Magistrate Nylstroom, 28 June 1910. Both in TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²²² Hand written notes in response to Krogh's letter, signature illegible, 20 June 1910, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA. There is a subsequent typed letter back to Krogh from the Secretary to the Administrator dated 28 June 1910 that relays the decision not to support the reserve, but it does not include the specific language of 'development' of the area. Secretary to the Administrator to J.C Krogh, 28 June 1910, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA. Here we see the managerial language of 'development' (meaning agriculture and livestock farming) already creeping into official discourse on hunting and game protection. See the Securing Separations chapter for a discussion of how this expands second half of the 20th century.

²²³ Petition from 50 Waterberg residents, 5 August 1910, TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

restricting the issuing of those permits.²²⁴ This continued line of reporting and exchange between the Provincial Secretary, the TGPA, the TLOA, the Secretary of Lands and Resident Magistrate regarding protection of game again indicates that the TGPA and the TLOA had the ear of the administration and their opinion mattered in both the organization and implementation of hunting practices through the establishment of farms in the Waterberg.

Prioritizing white agricultural and livestock settlement ultimately won the day. This has had significant consequences for the 21st century recurrence of hunting as a commercial endeavor on private property and follows from the steady opposition by people like de Beer and Nicholson over time and their consistent concern with securing white settlement and the livelihoods of poor whites and control of the Waterberg rural farms via hunting regulations.²²⁵ In light of the progress that elite sport hunters were making in establishing reserves,²²⁶ opposition to the Palala reserve in the Waterberg emphasizes how proscriptions on hunting were not just costs borne by black Africans, but were anticipated to bear costs for white and especially poor white hunters in the Waterberg and were the driving force behind securing landownership and control.

Return to the Farm and a Return to Sovereignty

²²⁴ Baily Secretary of TLOA writing to Acting Secretary of the Administrator, 13 March 1911; Provincial Secretary to TLOA, 26 April 1911; Baily TLOA to Acting Secretary to the Administration, 8 March 1912; A.B.R. Provincial Secretary to TLOA, 11 March 1912; Magistrate's office in Nylstroom to Secretary for Lands, 18 March 1912 – this letter recommends shooting permits be restricted to “such persons as we know to be trustworthy”; A.B.R. Provincial Secretary to Acting Secretary for Lands, 12 April 1912; Baily of TLOA to Provincial Secretary, 8 March 1913; A.E.C. Provincial Secretary to TGPA, 17 June 1913; J.C.V.R. [Rissik?] Provincial Secretary to TGPA, 2 April 1914. All letters found in file TPB 785 TA 3071/3076 Proposed Palala Game Reserve Koedoesrand Waterberg, NASA.

²²⁵ The five year protection of the Springbok Flats Reserve was not renewed because C. Marais and E.F. Bourke, two TGPA members, had fenced private farms in the reserve area. They argued this made it ineffectual for policing hunting and a reserve would not be possible – private land and ownership ideas about game were already driving policy here. Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 146-147.

²²⁶ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 148.

I return to my discussion of sovereignty and the state of exception above in light of the Waterberg being *achter die berg* as a hunting frontier and the fluidity/precarity/ambiguity of the environment, control, enclosure/fencing, and productive life (hunting v. farming) in the area. There a parallel to be established between (1) the erasure of black communities, black ownership (and their rendering as invisible), (2) the ‘poor white’ farmer/hunter who cannot be integrated and remains a problem for the *volk* and for nationhood (specifically the Carnegie Report on making them go away); and (3) the fluidity, multiple uses, precarity of the Waterberg environment and its relative ‘invisibility’ in the South African Rand centered historiography and as a frontier.

Completed in 1932, the Carnegie Commission consists of five volumes detailing the broad reaching social factors that come to bear on the poor white problem. Each volume contains a copy of the Commission’s Report’s “Joint Findings and Recommendations.”²²⁷ For my purposes here, I focus on the rural aspects of the report. Poor whites were broadly defined as Afrikaans-speaking, unskilled, rural *bywoners* (by-dwellers) who lived on another’s farm as tenant farmers or provided other services.²²⁸ The “Transvaal Bushveld type” of poor white was described as one who had lived for the previous fifty years in an “unsettled” area marked by “native wars” followed by the South African War. For those of the “old population” who had made a living on subsistence hunting and farming, the rapidly changing socio-economic conditions brought on by

²²⁷ The volumes are: Part I. Economic Report: Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus by J.F.W. Grosskopf; Part II. Psychological Report: The Poor White by R.W. Wilcocks; Part III. Educational Report: Education and the Poor White by E.G. Malherbe; Part IV. Health Report: Health Factors in the Poor White Problem by W.A. Murray; Part V. Sociological Report: (a) The Poor White and Society by J.R. Albertyn; (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family by M.E. Rothman

²²⁸ “Joint Findings and Recommendations,” *The Report of the Poor White Problem in South Africa* (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932), v.

mining and industrialization proved difficult to adapt to.²²⁹ A Waterberg widow described this as follows:

Many of us Transvalers never learnt to work; we were accustomed to trek after game, with our waggons and tents. It was an easy pleasant life. Once in a while we journeyed down to the coast with skins, biltong, sjamboks, etc. for trading. We made our purchases of groceries and gun powder, and returned after an absence of some months. This roving spirit still persists. A man who buys a government farm in the Bushveld has to pay nothing for the first year, and only a small, annual fee after that. Very often he does not farm at all, but neglects his crop and lives by hunting. When the game is exterminated he simply treks off. This reacts very detrimentally on the education of his children. A flourishing school is opened, but has to be closed after a year or two through lack of pupils. This unsettled, nomadic kind of existence is characteristic of the older population. After all the available game has been killed, they drift to the settlements or cities as virtual poor whites.²³⁰

This quote neatly condenses many of the national concerns of the poor white problem – work (skilled wage labor), farming and tenancy, capital/wealth, education, and urban migration. This quote also gets at the sentiment of what trekking and hunting meant already by the 1930s – the “easy pleasant life”. This “trek tradition” was seen as a deterrent to effectively integrating into an increasingly industrial and urban society.²³¹ Hunting as one of the “contributory causes of the trek spirit” was viewed as opportunistic and not conducive to the patience or industriousness required of farming.²³² This throws the weight of concern regarding poor whites in a hunting region such as the Waterberg into an economic frame juxtaposed in part to the urban, yet the racialized aspect of this was also forefront on the minds of those on the commission:

Signs are, however not wanting that this racial barrier is being broken down, especially where the standard [of] living of some Europeans is approximating

²²⁹ The Carnegie Commission [J.F.W. Grosskopf (Chair)], *The Poor White Problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932), J.R. Albertyn, “Part V. Sociological Report: (a) The Poor White and Society,” 10.

²³⁰ Quote attributed to a Mrs. S. (a widow). Albertyn, “The Poor White and Society,” 10-11.

²³¹ *Report of the Carnegie Commission*, R.W. Wilcocks, “Part II. Psychological Report: The Poor White,” 7-16.

²³² Wilcocks, “The Poor White,” 8.

more and more that of natives. The social intercourse between the races which – as pointed out below – is being encouraged by modern economic conditions easily leads to miscegenation. This means that the white colour is lost in the descendants. In this way it come about that there are whole families who bear the names and surnames of Europeans, but who are coloured. The ‘poor white’ problem here appears under a different form, because such families may be indeed ‘poor’ but are no longer ‘white’. Were it not that some of *the lower types of Europeans disappear in this manner*, the problem of poor whiteism would undoubtedly loom larger than it does to-day.²³³ (my emphasis)

Here the ‘lower types of Europeans’ were still central to conceiving of the sovereignty of the white nation by virtue of the anxiety around their ‘disappearance’ and the connections with ‘modern economic conditions’. The ‘were it not that’ phrase is a discursive attempt to recoup the lost poor white across the racial divide and back into the ‘problem of poor whiteism’. The quote from the Waterberg widow shows how poor whites in the Waterberg lived outside the efforts of the state to exercise sovereign control of daily life on the farm. The hunting laws discussed in this chapter were an attempt to establish and maintain power for whites, including poor whites (through de Beer), over the land through the hunt for potential poachers in the construction and security of the actual hunting camp. The Waterberg and the farm as a hunting space operated as contested spaces sovereignty and exception.

There is a recurring theme of the return to the farm, most often after war, that is important for understanding the Waterberg, particularly considering the sense that there was a lack of movement or enforcement of the game laws in the first half of the 20th century.²³⁴ Beginning after the end of the South African War in 1902, as evidenced by Lagden above, there was an effort to (re)settle whites on farms in the Transvaal. Soldiers returning from war were encouraged to take up farms, and the Crown Land Disposal

²³³ *Report of the Carnegie Commission*, Part V: The Sociological Report (Stellenbosch: Pro-Ecclesia 1932), 37-38.

²³⁴ See my discussion of the 1945 Game Commission in the Implements of Destruction chapter below.

Ordinance of 1903 was key to providing these. In an effort to settle farms after the South African War, crown land farms, (which made up much of the Waterberg at the time) were listed as a notice in the *Government Gazette* for lease with or without the right to purchase. The district magistrate or the Secretary of Lands office in Pretoria took applications. In addition, there were clauses against trespassing on Crown Land where those accused were subject to immediate eviction and “all reasonable force may be used by any such officer aforesaid to effect such immediate departure.”²³⁵ As mentioned above, part of the reasoning for proposing the northern section of the Koedoesrand Ward for the Palala Reserve was that there were no white settled farms in that area. With the reserve denied more than once from 1907 through 1914, the focus on settling farms remained. The Natives Land Act of 1913 is most often cited as the key piece of legislation that formalized segregation between farms and black African communities, though recent scholarship has pointed out how the reality of its implementation was in fact more complex and uneven.²³⁶ The Act was centrally concerned with tenancy arrangements and restricted black Africans from renting land outside scheduled areas as well as prohibiting sharecropping.²³⁷ The Act also prohibited black Africans from purchasing land outside of scheduled areas and called for a commission to establish these scheduled areas.²³⁸ This was the Beaumont Commission and its report was not published until 1916. In that report, the only scheduled area listed solely in the Waterberg was

²³⁵ See Crown Land Disposal Amendment Ordinance No. 13 of 1906. These notices were often reprinted in journals and newspapers. For example an example see *The Sun and Agricultural Journal of South Africa*, July 1926, pg. 699 where three farms in Zoutpansberg listed in the *Government Gazette* were advertised. Recall that the Zoutpansberg was on the northern border of the Waterberg and was also a key and remote hunting area, or ‘frontier’.

²³⁶ William Beinart and Peter Delius, “The Historical Context and Legacy of the Natives Land Act of 1913,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 4 (2014): 667-688.

²³⁷ Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913.

²³⁸ Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913.

achter die berg at Seleka along the Palala River, where an African community had been established for over 60 years.²³⁹ The Land Act and subsequent schedules of land to be set aside for black African settlement via the Beaumont Commission were slow to be implemented. Partly this was due to pushback from farmers about their farms being included in land reserved for black African occupation.²⁴⁰ Another aspect was that the report was submitted in the middle of the World War I and political attention as well as the ability to extend administrative capacity to rural farms would have been diverted. Lange argues that war (World War I) was a distraction from social issues, and that by the 1920s, after the war, the poor white problem was seen as a looming economic problem of social and political consequence with debates about whether to promote State intervention or market intervention.²⁴¹ If the State was concerned over market forces and interventions, and the indigency commission recommended a survival of the fittest attitude, then absent large subsidies or aid, rural security was achieved through ownership and access rights, and hunting proscriptions against blacks were integral to this as a way to empower rural whites and regulate black movement. This, combined with the adverse effects of the Great Depression on South African agriculture that did not really see a

²³⁹ *Report of the Natives Land Commission 1916* (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1916), 30. The other regions of the Waterberg that were scheduled were on the central highlands side of the mountains and extended across/alongside borders with Zoutpansberg, Pietersburg, Rustenburg, and Pretoria districts where larger black African communities existed near white towns such the communities led by Masibi and Makapan near Piet Potgeitersrust (Zoutpansberg district). Indeed, the map created by the Beaumont Commission shows the Waterberg as a relatively unmarked district apart from the Seleka scheduled area, with much of the remainder of the Transvaal, apart from the Sabi and Singwetsi Reserves in the eastern Lowveld scheduled as 'native reserves.' As Beinart and Delius state, "effective occupation by large numbers of African tenants proved in the longer term to be the basis for an extension of areas reserved for Africans." Beinart and Delius, "The Historical Context and Legacy of the Natives Land Act of 1913," 680.

²⁴⁰ W.H. Beaumont, *Natives Land Commission: Minute addressed to the Honourable Minister of Native Affairs* (Cape Town: Government Printers, 1916), 4.

²⁴¹ Lange, *White, Poor, and Angry*, 152-154.

recovery until 1934,²⁴² is an important factor contributing to an absence of a full revisiting of the game laws until 1935. Apart from a few amendments, which did not substantially alter the 1905 ordinance discussed above, this was the first review of the laws by the government of the Union of South Africa.²⁴³ The *Wildordonnansie* 1935 basically reiterated the clauses of the 1905 Ordinance – license requirements, prohibiting trapping and snaring or hunting with dogs, restricting trade in game or animal products (market biltong hunting), and presuming guilt for possessing game or weapons as suspicion of contravening the law. The Ordinance emphasized the *jagregte* (hunting rights) for *eienaars* (owners) of farms as bona fide purchasers or those who were legitimate heirs or able to have the deed transferred to them.²⁴⁴ Yet the language in this Ordinance was lacking in specific racial language and instead used broad terms like *eienaar* and *bywoner* (occupier) to denote who had rights to hunt and referred to possible contravention by using the word *iemand* (someone or anyone). The opportunity of ‘occupiers’ to hunt technically left room in the law for black Africans who were often deemed occupiers of white farms as the labor that lived permanently on the farms (when some white farm owners lived in town or in cities). This became a significant turning point in the racial language of the hunting laws when occupier status was qualified and black Africans were excluded from its definition.²⁴⁵ I read the lack of racially specific language in this 1936 version of the ordinance not as a racially progressive sign of equal

²⁴² The effects of the Great Depression on South African agriculture were significant, particularly when combined with drought and locusts in the 1930s. Recovery slowly came beginning around 1934. Anthony Minnaar, "The effects of the Great Depression (1929–1934) on South African White agriculture," *South African Journal of Economic History* 5, no. 2 (1990): 83-108.

²⁴³ *Wildordonnansie* No. 11 1935. This Game Ordinance replaced the 1905 ordinance and its subsequent amendments in 1907, 1909, 1917, and 1918. This Ordinance is in Afrikaans, all translations are my own.

²⁴⁴ *Wildordonnansie* No. 11 1935, Definitions. Though additions for updated technologies of the hunt, such as prohibiting shooting from a motor vehicle and using spotlights (Article 4, sub-section 9, Article 10 sub-section 1), were added.

²⁴⁵ See full discussion of this in the Implements of Destruction chapter below.

treatment of all under the law, but rather as an assumption of the racial underpinnings of the previous laws (outlined above) that needed no further articulation at the time. When it came to hunting on farms these decades from the 1900s through the 1940s were focused more on the establishment of the farms by white settlers.

The year following the Wildordonnansie 1935, the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act was passed. Twenty years after the Beaumont Commission and emerging from world war and economic struggles in the agricultural sector this Act was intended to continue efforts at settling whites on farms and promote the official recommendations of segregation of black African occupation, while enforcing tenancy restrictions more effectively.²⁴⁶ The Native Trust and Land Act 1936 established the South African Native Trust in order to purchase the additional land for black Africans proposed under the Native Land Act 1913 and scheduled by the subsequent Beaumont Commission. As noted above, only the Seleka area in the Waterberg (which was already occupied by the Seleka community) was scheduled under Beaumont and thus the debates about the effectiveness or difficulties of implementing the Native Trust and Land Act's land purchasing practices did not play out there.²⁴⁷ In part this was also due to the geology of the Waterberg and the difficulty of farming it. The environment determined which land or locations in the district were settled as well as those that were not deemed suitable to settlement due to malaria, tsetse, or drought conditions. Thus the tenancy provisions of the Act were the most significant for the area. In regions such as the Waterberg, "the real human occupants upon the lands are natives, whether under chiefs or scattered families,

²⁴⁶ Native Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936.

²⁴⁷ Michelle Hay questions the extent of land purchases emanating from the Act in the Northern Transvaal. Michelle Hay, "Buying Naboth's Vineyard: The Challenges of Land Transfer Under the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act," *African Studies* 71, no. 3 (2012): 361-379.

but still under the tribal system, living where, from their point of view, they and their forefathers have lived” and it was these relationships vis a vis the ever-expanding white settlement of farms that was most pressing.²⁴⁸ Part of the effort to expand Native Trust land was to address environmental degradation concerns on black African land.²⁴⁹ This parallel of ‘reserved’ black African land and degradation with the game protection impetus of establishing reserves along environmental degradation lines and population health and numbers cannot be overlooked. To legislate both game reserves and ‘native’ reserves in terms of ‘degradation’ squarely places game, black Africans, and hunting in the same conceptual field. The farm became the site of this debate in the Waterberg after the ‘failed’ Palala Reserve and subsequent scheduling of Seleka as the ‘native’ reserve in the area. The government through the farm administered the remainder of the black African population.

The Native Affairs Department was limited in its efforts (in part, though not exclusively through lack of funding and administrative constraints of World War II²⁵⁰) to enact and enforce the Native Trust and Land Act and to purchase land through the South

²⁴⁸ This quote is from W.P. Schreiner (Zoutpansberg District) to the Native Land Commission in 1914. *Report of the Native Land Commission Vol II* (Cape Town: Government Publishers, 1916), 213. Hay argues that this sentiment carried on through the 1930s. Hay, “Buying Naboth's Vineyard,” 366. Hay argues in her article that she is reading the history of Native Trust and Land Act as a way for post-apartheid policy makers to understand the long process of land policy efforts and the need to view ‘stakeholder interests’ (369) in historical context. Hay uses ‘stakeholder interests’ in quotations as a way to make her historical argument with an eye toward contemporary policy making. The application of this language to describe the parties involved draws a specific and intended link to the development language used to manage the effectiveness and participation of communities in navigating the challenges faced in the post-apartheid era where very real economic and social inequalities persist. My argument is that the specifics of such language in the professional/official discourse on hunting presumes a certain subject position for black African subjects in relation to the hunting industry and its closely related to safari/tourism businesses. This subject position is tied directly to land ownership and its complicated legacies associated with the 1913/1936 Land Acts as well as the game ordinance language around owners/occupiers/trespass. That Hay uses the phrase without any explanation points to the ease with which historical work can subsume positionality in policy discourse with the consequence of further assuming where black Africans stand in relation to these debates.

²⁴⁹ Hay, “Buying Naboth's Vineyard,” 369-370.

²⁵⁰ Purchasing land through the South African Native Trust was halted during World War II. Hay, “Buying Naboth's Vineyard,” 369.

African Native Trust. The Waterberg remained a backwater *achter die berg*. Ellisras, the largest town *achter die berg*, was not established until the 1930s.²⁵¹ The local histories of the area reminisce (see Imagining Waterberg chapter) about bygone days of winter hunts going back to the early decades of the 1900s, hunts themselves that harkened back to the *voortrekker* days. Elizabeth Hunter's *Vier en Twintig Riviers* (Twenty Four Rivers) family farm proudly preserves Louis Botha's wagon that was used to trek to farms in the Ellisras area for winter grazing and hunting. Hunter herself recalls trekking on the wagon as a little girl as part of the tradition of the hunt, even after the road to Ellisras was cut and the trip would have been quick by car to the family's winter farms.²⁵² Out of sight, out of mind, the Waterberg hunters and farmers and their laborers nevertheless continued to hunt and farm and work, their activities swirling in an eddy just outside the reach of central Highveld agricultural interests, the conservation demands of/for eastern Lowveld reserves, and the labor claims of Rand and western Transvaal mining. The patterns of interaction on these farms remained defined through hunting laws combined with ownership, trespass, and occupation regulations extending from the days of the hunting frontier.

The hunting frontier was 'closed',²⁵³ and securing farming through establishing white settlement in the rural areas was the focus of the new South African government after 1910.²⁵⁴ This notion of closure is an historiographic one that renders the end of the big game hunting of the late 19th century and the failure to proclaim the Palala Game Reserve as the end of the hunting frontier. Yet the efforts to restrict market biltong

²⁵¹ Loots Family Papers; Personal correspondence, Scott Kotze, August 12-13, 2015; Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 119.

²⁵² Hunter, *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, 108-109

²⁵³ Wagner, "Zoutpansberg," 337. See discussion above.

²⁵⁴ See Carruthers on Lagden above.

hunting and to protect game by limiting shooting permits on private and government farms were not the same as ending or banning hunting. When Carruthers uses de Beer as her foil and then moves on to game protection in the eastern Lowveld via Stevenson-Hamilton, she leaves hunting and the Waterberg adrift in her historiographic wake. Recalling Hofmeyr's comment that the Waterberg remained outside the realm of academic interest (see my Introduction), in part this was because, in the 1970s-1990s, there was little of national or academic political interest to draw people to the region although the fact that Stevenson-Hamilton and Smuts addressed this, and paid attention to this, seems to indicate differently. Further, as will be argued in the chapters below, the establishment of game farms did not garner much attention until the large increase in the 1990s and 2000s. Hunting on private land and via the interests of land owners through their membership with the TGPA and the TLOA (which likely overlapped for many) drove the debate on the hunting laws and thus they become framed centrally around landownership, occupier status (see Implements of Destruction chapter below) and the control and surveillance of the white farm.

Chapter 4

Implements of Destruction: The 1945 Game Commission and Redefining the 'Native' as Poacher

Domination presupposes a kind of manhunt.
Gregoire Chamayou¹

The larger part of the study of the ideational capacities of modern states must thus consist of study of the power involved in the making of 'questions'; this is a power imbricated in language and organized in institutions.
Adam Ashforth²

In our opinion the stage has been reached where it must be realised that the question of game control is so closely bound up with the economics of the farming industry that it should no longer continue to be divorced from the system of research and control established for that industry, but that they should rather be linked up and co-ordinated so that the whole question of animal control could at all times be viewed and dealt with in its true perspective.
*Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation, 1945*³

The 1940s are marked with significance in the history of hunting in South Africa. Besides World War II, the most notable event in the national imaginary, and subsequent historiography, remains the 1948 election of the National Party that ushered in the implementation of apartheid laws, cementing the country's long history of segregation along racial lines. During this time also, hunting as practice and policy was undergoing renewed interest and scrutiny. This centered on the Transvaal Province Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation in 1945 (hereafter referred to as the Game Commission), with the resulting revised issuance of the 1949 Transvaal Game Ordinance (Ordinance No. 23 of 1949). Considering hunting's close connections to war and apartheid governance through technologies of the gun, methods of tracking and capture, and the

¹ Grégoire Chamayou, *Manhunts: A Philosophical History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 4.

² Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, 2014), 6. Ashforth here is referring to the making of the 'native question' in South Africa.

³ Transvaal Province, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation, TP6-1945* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1945), para. 350.

designation of hunters/poachers as ‘fair game,’ this chapter argues that an investigation of hunting practices in the Transvaal during the 1940s holds important clues to understanding the particular distillations of racial governance that are marked by the 1948 elections. While the Game Commission was a province-wide inquiry, I read the commission through the Waterberg (again, as a frontier area that remains, even today, largely outside the national imaginary and historiography). Such a reading of hunting through this commission, in connection with the lingering questions of the poor white problem (discussed in the *Achter die berg* chapter above), provides a unique vantage point from which to view the making of race in South Africa that was shaped through legal constructions around farms, land, and animals. While not a commission that would fall into Ashforth’s Grand Tradition (the 1945 Game Commission deals with the Native Question implicitly via farm labor and economy in the Transvaal, but is not centrally about the politics of the Native Question nationally as it relates to concerns over labor, economy, and the influx of Africans to urban areas)⁴, the 1945 Game Commission nevertheless was conceived and conducted in the fashion of this tradition, taking as its

⁴ The first decades after the Union of South Africa was established in 1910 (1910s-1950s), were a time of significant changes in farming and labor relations, particularly in the Transvaal. Increased capital and markets from the mines along with new technologies of the tractor and protections for white farmers (for example, guaranteed minimum prices via the Marketing Act of 1937, and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 discussed above in *Achter die berg* chapter) slowly chipped away at white landlord/black African sharecropper relations of earlier decades where landowners relied more on sharecroppers to make the farm profitable. On the Transvaal Highveld, with the most suitable farmland and in closer proximity to mines and urban areas, this eventually confined black Africans into wage labor and reserves. For a detailed analysis of these forces at work in the western Transvaal and how Kas Maine, a successful black African sharecropper, and his family navigated the complex changing economic landscape see Charles van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper 1894-1985* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), 8. These dynamics in the farming industry were combined with the national debate on the ‘Native Question’ and blatant white racism, such as that of the Hertzog government with Hertzog having stated that, “South Africa shall be governed by the white man, and the white man will not tolerate any attempt to deprive him of that task” (Quote in Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 69). The shifts described by van Onselen – from dependence on sharecropping to competing for labor tenants and losing labor to the cities and the mines – left farmers struggling to maintain their farms while the national debate of the 1940s centered on tensions in urban areas. The politically conservative rural farmers and their concerns became a key political voting bloc for the National Party in the 1948 elections. See Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 116.

mandate the need to legitimate white rule and exercise of power over the rural spaces of farms through the marginalization and control of black Africans. Despite the sharp break that 1948 flags in the historiography, the 1940s reflect the long legacy of accumulated colonial intervention from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. My argument is that an analysis of hunting reveals how interests in, and concerns over race, environment, and nation merged in conflicting and contested ways that help frame new questions about the (lingering) persistence of racial inequality and injustice and their centrality to or formation in practices associated with hunting and the land/property. The Game Commission was a result of an accumulation of the narrative and legal renderings of hunting over the previous decade as discussed in my chapters above. White farmers were uncertain about their future and hunting was a point of connection for the history of these farmers and their families on the land. In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the moment of the 1940s and hunting on farms was differently articulated, though no less violently, than the days of the *voortrekker* on the hunting frontier. These come together in the somewhat jarring concept of the ‘manhunt.’ This chapter focuses on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation in 1945 and brings together two historical conceptualizations to explore connections between hunting and race – Gregoire Chamayou’s theory on manhunts and Adam Ashforth’s reading of commissions of inquiry in South Africa.

Manhunts

The concept of the manhunt might come as a surprise in a dissertation about hunting, or might seem like an exaggerated polemic or rhetorical move. But to return to my

discussion of Chamayou in the Introduction to this dissertation, hunting and race are intricately linked in the state's exercise of power and this calls for a consideration of the manhunt. Chamayou states:

Extreme right-wing movements recognize in the hunting pack a social force capable of providing them with a base for their political hegemony. Having come to power, they institute a state racism in which racist hunting becomes the heart of a program whose murderous goals can then be pursued with the means of state power.⁵

Chamayou theorizes manhunts – human predation – as the interplay of technologies of predation and power. He traces the exercise of 'cynegetic' power – the power related to the hunt as the hunting of men – along three lines; slave hunting, tyrannical sovereignty, and pastoral exclusionary pastoral hunting.⁶ These three forms of the manhunt coexisted in varying degrees at the 'threshold of modernity';⁷ at which time the introduction of capital became the great hunting power associated with modernity.⁸ By this Chamayou means that capital transformed the relations of predation. As noted above, the changing technologies and markets of the early decades of the 20th century farming in the Transvaal were a cause of economic and political anxiety for the white population seeking to maintain power and control. Alleviating those anxieties meant controlling capital to support farms, which meant empowering white farmers at the expense of black

⁵ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 151. Recall the note in the early on in the *Achter die berg* chapter where Sparks discussed the very conservative racist attitudes of the Waterberg area.

⁶ Slave hunting for Chamayou finds its origins as a Greek 'art' of acquiring labor based on the perceived ontological difference of masters (those in/with power) and slaves (those excluded from the same form of humanity as the masters), a difference as projected by the master's power (*Manhunts*, 7). The exercise of power as tyrannical sovereignty over people is the violent, capture oriented, hunt of political subjects. Chamayou references Nimrod in the biblical tradition as the historical articulation of this power (13). In the exercise of pastoral power of exclusionary hunting – the identification, excommunication, elimination, and killing of the 'diseased' of the flock – Chamayou extends his analysis from the Christian pastoral flock to political communities and states (20-23). According to Chamayou, pastoral power is also inclusionary and individualizing by enumerating those who fall within a particular community. For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on the exclusionary exercise of pastoral power as cynegetic power.

⁷ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 150.

⁸ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 150-151.

African labor. My analysis of the Game Commission and the 1949 Game Ordinance below outlines a key aspect of how this was accomplished.

The central problem that cynegetic power seeks to address is the problem of protection of the master/sovereign/national power.⁹ This discourse resonates with and repeats in (later, ongoing) efforts to protect environments and species but always also, by doing so, ensuring the protection of the master/sovereign/national power. Even in the post-apartheid period, the ‘protection’ of ecologies, game and hunting privileges – cast in a national narrative of redress – still preserves racial social and economic inequalities (see further my discussion of this in the Introduction and Securing Separation chapters). The imperative for protection has been argued as having its logic in the natural distinction between master/slave, civilized/savage. Additionally, it has been argued as having its origins in the fear of being hunted oneself¹⁰, and further in a fear of the blurring of social boundary lines.¹¹ All of these threatened to destabilize the communities and institutions where power resides.

Beyond the early modern context, manhunts take two forms in relation to hunting practices and the politics of race in South Africa. Firstly for acquiring labor and political subjects, which Ashforth’s study below articulates well, though not in the language of a manhunt. Secondly for differentiation and removal of ‘exiled’ Africans for the preservation of white farmer community coherence, which is the central concern of this chapter’s analysis of the Game Commission’s recommendation of removing ‘occupier’

⁹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 154.

¹⁰ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 5

¹¹ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 9.

status from black Africans.¹² As Chamayou concludes, “[t]his type of exclusion is all the more efficient, and all the more productive of deleterious effects, as the functions of protection have been centralized by the institution that has both drawn the borderlines of the group of humans that are to be protected and has the means to hunt down those whom it has excluded from its definition.”¹³ As a European practice distinctly different from African practices,¹⁴ whose technologies and values are weighted with the legacy of the relationship between the hunting of/for humans for modernity and sovereignty that Chamayou’s genealogy outlines,¹⁵ the physical and social inroads that hunting made into the African interior marked the vanguard of colonial encounter. The modification and adaptation of the accumulated knowledges of hunting and of the manhunt coalesce, taking on new meaning in the emerging form of the 1940s South African nation-state, an emerging police state aimed at controlling the movement of Africans¹⁶, and an industry of leisure and adventure hunting marketed exclusively to white hunters at home and

¹² By exile I am referring back to my discussion of Chamayou’s pastoral hunts as an exercise of state power from the Introduction. Chamayou asserts that pastoral hunts were, “techniques for identifying, excluding, and eliminating dangerous elements” of society (Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 20.) Exile also has strong resonances with apartheid-era banning orders, effectively exiling someone internally, and the criminalizing of protest, of movement, and most any activity deemed to be politically anti-apartheid.

¹³ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 154. The physical borders of the ‘native’ reserves had been drawn (scheduled) over time through the Land Act of 1913 and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 (see *Achter die berg* chapter). The borderlines of the farm were cartographically laid out at the end of the 19th century but were to become physically marked by increased fencing as continued efforts to enclose the farm, its game, and the rights to control both expanded (see *Securing Separation and Blood lines* chapters).

¹⁴ Recall the discussion in the *After Riders* chapter which references African practices of hunting (snaring, trapping, driving, hunting with dogs) and trading that were long established (Morton and Hitchcock, “Tswana Hunting”), and how such practices were subsequently prohibited as non-sporting and destructive in the eyes of white hunters (*Achter die berg* chapter).

¹⁵ These are the long and interconnected shifts from slave hunting, to capturing subjects, to pastoral care and removing ‘exiles,’ to the influx of capital and the implementation of a police state of surveillance and control to legitimate the exercise of power, to xenophobia and the justifications linked to the maintenance of the integrity of national borders and identities. Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 149-154.

¹⁶ Controlling the movement of Africans was simultaneously about the securing of labor for the South African economy and about maintaining a racially segregated state.

abroad.¹⁷ This investigation into the foundations of an animal hunting industry alongside, and imbricated with, a practice of manhunts by the state exposes the fissures of racial organization and racism that permeate the history of hunting in South Africa.

The Politics of Official Discourse

You must read more in a report than just the words.¹⁸

Adam Ashforth argues that commissions of inquiry are crucial for understanding state power because, as relatively independent entities, they collect “opinion” and “facts” toward “producing reports representing the state speaking the ‘truth’ about itself; a ‘truth’ which frequently reveals the limits of the possible within a particular structure of the state.”¹⁹ Commissions of inquiry are purportedly relatively independent in that they are composed of an appointed chairman and committee members from prominent though not always explicitly political positions within the state, yet their report is submitted to the state, debated in government, and ultimately used to guide policy making.²⁰ The report itself is based on the compilation of minutes of evidence taken from witness statements given at meetings held to assess “public” opinion regarding the issues the commission is tasked to inquire about. Yet this public is a predetermined pool of witnesses connected closely with exercise of power concerning the issue at hand – in the case of the 1945

¹⁷ The more extensive international thrust of this marketing came later – in the 1980s/90s – as the 1994 moment approached. This is noticeable in the shift from explicit racialized language toward more supposedly neutral managerial language; see the Securing Separation chapter. On the marketing of the hunting and safari farm, see the Blood lines chapter.

¹⁸ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 13. Here Ashforth is quoting Nicholas Wiehahn, Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, 1981.

¹⁹ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 6.

²⁰ I am examining this commission in its South African context, but Helena Pohlandt-McCormick notes how these commissions operated in similar fashion supposedly independent of, but ultimately as functions of, state power and legitimacy in Europe and the United States. Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, “*I Saw a Nightmare...*” *Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976*, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/pohlandt-mccormick/pmh03h.html>, see “Chapter 3 Official Stories: Telling Soweto, June 16, 1976—The Appropriation of the People's Story into Official Histories,” note 3.

Game Commission, this public is the white farmers and landowners of the Transvaal.²¹ Pohlandt-McCormick argues that, “[i]t is [her] theory that, in the case of the state’s official narrative of the uprising [Cillie Commission on the Soweto uprising of 16 June 1976], the creation of historical meaning was a necessary part of the state’s method for dealing with the unrest and was closely linked to its actual physical suppression.” She states this is accomplished through practice (measures of control) and ideology (materially rendered through official discourse) that are a combination of ‘common sense’ and law and policy.²² I discuss the sentiment of ‘common sense’ as perceived through the mid-century (re)publishing of hunting narratives further in the next chapter, *Securing Separations*. Here I want to emphasize the way that state power articulated ‘common sense’ as a white social reality through the Game Commission. Ashforth argues that, “[A] commission of inquiry ... is a theatre in which a central ‘truth’ of state power is ritually played out before a public audience to help establish and reproduce the power of the state.”²³ The commission operates here as an instrument of cynegetic power. I read the Game Commission through a couple meanings of the word theatre here. Firstly, theatre of war comes to mind. Conducted in 1945, the Game Commission operated in the wake of the physical violence of the Second World War, but also framed itself as at war with global economics tied to nature. The epigraph at the top of this chapter from the Game Commission inextricably linked farming and hunting through game protection. As

²¹ The notion of the creation of publics has become a central topic of debate in the post-apartheid era. My argument focuses on the way that hunting served as a practice around which a white ‘public’ coalesced in certain ways. However it is important to keep in mind that these moments of coalescence were not uniform. For an expanded discussion of the various ways that publics are historically constituted see Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017).

²² Pohlandt-McCormick, “*I Saw a Nightmare...*”, see chapter “Telling Soweto, June 16, 1976—The Appropriation of the People’s Story into Official Histories,” para. 4-5.

²³ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 9.

discussed in the *Achter die berg* chapter, the precarity of farming and white landowner/farmer livelihood was a central social and political concern stretching from across other post-war moments (South African War, First World War) and expressed through debates over land and race. The white Waterberg constituency was part of the Transvaal conservative political stronghold of the soon to be elected National Party, though that election was by no means a foregone conclusion.²⁴ The Game Commission's theatre of war faced racial, national, and economic fronts.

Yet operations of the Game Commission were also a choreographed production of 'theatre' as both a performance and a witnessing. Here I am reading performance through my analysis of Goodrich in the Introduction where he argues that biltong hunting is a performance of belonging through reenacting the old winter trek hunts as a way to mediate the anxiety of white identity in the post-apartheid. What concerns me here, though, is how the anxieties of the 1940s around hunting and the farm also produced a performance of recalling and claiming a hunting past.²⁵ I am thinking with Baucom on 'witnessing' and how, via Derrida, he is arguing that a central role of the witness is to observe, survive, and transmit that which has been witnessed, to "serialize the event and its affect."²⁶ The white farmer witnesses were drawing on their experience of the farm and their hunting traditions of the past to secure their access to game and the land through hunting laws. I argue that the Game Commission as a function of governing power is also a performance for an intended audience (as Pohlandt-McCormick carefully articulates

²⁴ Herman Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (Cape Town: NB Publishers, 2009), 420. Giliomee argues that the 'north' 'south' divide between Afrikaner nationalists, where those in the north (Transvaal) were more dogmatic and racist, but where the poor white vote was crucial, was a fraught and tenuous political relationship navigated in the 1930s and 1940s in the lead up to the 1948 election of the National Party. See his Chapter 12 Fusion and War, 403-446. Giliomee also describes the National Party of 1948 as largely a "farmers' party" due to its gains with poor whites and struggling farmers (480).

²⁵ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 114-115.

²⁶ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 177.

regarding the Cillie Commission), performed as part of a cultural war where the discursive violence inflicted on black African populations operates in part as a function of the protection of the cultural integrity of a rural white settler population. This breaks along racial lines. When thought alongside the narrative rendering of the white settler farmer as a pioneering spirit of fortitude that was necessary to tame the wilderness in the face of economic and social dangers of the black African, this ‘common sense’ ideology is perceived to be a seamless reinforcement of official discourses of power. The Game Commission becomes in effect a self-fulfilling official performance of public perception. In the Waterberg, the added layer of the recurring winter hunts and the struggle for the poor white (see *Achter die berg* chapter) combine the real economic uncertainties of the 1930s and 1940s with the *voortrekker* past through the hunt. The right to hunt becomes the right to claim history, or from Pohlandt-McCormick above, “the creation of historical meaning.” By telling the story of the hunt, and enabling the ability of whites to do so through laws protecting their right to hunt, the Game Commission and the 1949 ordinance rationalized control of the farm.

Ashforth analyzes the commission of inquiry for the work it does to, “reconstruct the logic of what might be called the ‘terms of reference’ within which the twentieth-century South African state formed an authoritative framework for understanding and speaking of social reality”.²⁷ Commissions performed work necessary to, “constitute the power of those who would act in the name of the state, and the subjection of those whose lives they would organize.”²⁸ Critical for the importance of his study here is that it provides insight into the “procedures for, and understandings of, population differentiation” that justified

²⁷ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 4.

²⁸ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 254.

the power of the state and determined who it was to be exercised upon.²⁹ Commissions put in place a practice of formulating questions around ‘problems and solutions’ whose answers were demanded by claims to mastery.³⁰ To quote Ashforth at length,

To speak of a social ‘question’ then, or to view some peoples’ lives as a ‘problem’ is to name those people as a subject of power, the power presumed capable of ‘solving’ the problem they constitute. To name a problem and to seek causes, from which to reason solutions, that is, ways of producing desired effects, is also to specify ways in which these matters may be properly spoken of. It is to constitute a realm of discourse in the terms of which the knowledge necessary for power can be discovered and expressed.³¹

Thus commissions become ‘reckoning schemes of legitimation’ tasked to create concrete plans of action through reconciling the theoretical and practical possibilities for ‘solving’ the ‘problems’ of the state. In this case, the state constituted a public by

²⁹ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 4, and also see his footnote 8. He notes that this differentiation was thought along three trajectories – kind (white/black = human/non-human), temporal (stages of development, thus upliftment and benevolent development, civilized/savage), and spatial (different ‘roots’ and geographic dispersal).

³⁰ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 5. On the importance of understanding the political, social, and historical contexts and contingencies of ‘questions’, see David Scott’s *Conscripts of Modernity*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), Introduction. Scott here is discussing intellectual questions, whereas the state in the context I am thinking through has understood the power of formulating the question in just the right way to serve its purposes. The intersection between Ashforth and Scott here extends the relationship between experts, the state, and its institutions. Experts for the Game Commission were policy makers concerned with the economics of farming and farmers speaking their truth about the conditions on the ground regarding game. Pohlandt-McCormick in her essay “State and Legitimacy” reads Ashforth on the “Colour Policy” to show how the racial ideology of the National Party was explicit about separation and separate development. Central to this racial ideology was the role of law, policy and commission reports, as well as scientific logic, as the way that ideology is materially, in writing, justified by the state (Pohlandt-McCormick, “*I Saw a Nightmare...*”). The scientific logics in relation to hunting were intricately tied to the veterinary sciences as they relate to game preservation and management. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 317-319. The close conceptual imagining of game reserves with black African reserves (discussed below and in *Achter die berg* chapter) as separate from white farms around which hunting laws were articulated and enforced is thus not about an inscription of race into hunting, but how hunting fundamentally drove constructions of race and their articulation in practice and in policy/archives. This is materially rendered through the memorandum on the 1949 game ordinance discussed below and the reiteration and emphasis of the clause that vests authority in the physical written documents and notes of police, farmers, farm owners, whites in general.

³¹ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse* 5. Following on the epigraph from Chamayou at the top, ‘problem people’ as the subject of power could be already said to be hunted, and solutions by the state would then be designed with these subject peoples as ‘prey’. While Ashforth attends to the ‘problem’ of the ‘Native Question’ in official discourse, his line of argument here could be extended to other ‘problems.’ For the purposes of my study these include the implied ‘Native Question,’ social ‘problems’ of ‘hunters’ and ‘poachers’, and of ‘sustainable development’.

“speaking” to the “native,” as Ashforth puts it, and by “showing how what is desirable can be made practicable.”³² I read Ashforth here as articulating, through the state’s institutions and discourses exemplified in the commission of inquiry, the workings of what Chamayou argues is the exercise of cynegetic power by the state. In the case of the 1945 Game Commission, this is the naming of the landowner as a ‘hunter,’ and, conversely, the non-owner occupier, presumed black, as a ‘poacher,’ and the discourses and policies that emanate from this naming.

Manhunts, Commissions and Hunting in the Transvaal

Ashforth states that commissions

[r]epresent intellectual processes which are formally structured by terms of reference, and which produce in authoritative form the terms of reference with which the agents of the state seek to apprehend and master that reality. Commission reports, then, could be said to embody discourses that shape social reality within modern states and reflect the realities that constrain political discourse.³³

Seeking to ‘apprehend and master’ the reality of game preservation through the space of the white farmer/hunter in relation to the black African poacher became the mandate of the 1945 Game Commission. The terms of reference – i.e. definitions at the outset of reports, and ultimately Acts and Ordinances – were to be justified through the elaboration of the information collected in the investigative segment of the commission. By ‘listening’ to only select voices, the state authorized particular social representatives to justify and reinforce its power. Ashforth reads commission reports as literary texts, not as objective documents of fact, law or policy. His concern is to look at the “synthesizing

³² Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 8-9.

³³ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 11.

aspects and rhetorical dimensions of reports.”³⁴ Ashforth’s work is not about uncovering causation of historical events, but about interpreting the strands of official discourse around the issue of the ‘Native Question’.

Chamayou traces the intensification of cynegetic power through the adoption of surveillance and capture by the military and police as significant, increasingly important arms of governance. In South Africa, this power was deployed via apartheid laws in particular ways with the rise of the National Party and its election in 1948. While noting this electoral moment as significant, my argument here nevertheless stays close to hunting, looking at the specifics of a system of militarization adopted more extensively from hunting practices, gleaned from the Report on the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation in 1945, and articulated formally in the new game ordinance of 1949.³⁵

The articulation and intensification of cynegetic power in the 1940s was centered on the livelihood of the white farmer. In the northern and western Transvaal, the first decades after the Union of South Africa in 1910 saw a keen interest in securing control of the rural areas through the settlement of agriculture and livestock (cattle and sheep) farms.³⁶ By the 1940s the shifting demographics stemming from accumulating practices

³⁴ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 11.

³⁵ In the 1940s, each province was responsible for reviewing and amending its own game laws. Alongside this was the creation of other organizations such as the Transvaal Game Protection Association. The Game Commission and these organizations drew on a long history of hunting practices and negotiations over land and game discussed in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

³⁶ See *Achter die berg* chapter. On hunting and farming in the northern and western regions of the Transvaal see, Shaun Milton, “The Transvaal beef frontier: Environment, markets and the ideology of development, 1902-1942,” in *Ecology & Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*, eds. Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 199-212; Roger Wagner, “Zoutpansberg: the dynamics of a hunting frontier, 1848-67,” in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1980), 313-349. For a broader discussion of the making of the space of the farm and relationship between agriculture and conservation, see William Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770- 1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

of racial separation and segregation began to strain the perceived security of whites both in urban and rural areas. It is not uncommon to argue that apartheid was a response to and mounting fear of the rapid urbanization of Africans in the middle of the century³⁷; what is less well understood and often neglected in the literature is that Africans in the rural areas, and in the Bantustans were also perceived as a threat.³⁸ Pass laws and related systems of control were not sufficient to quell the fears of the white population that saw in the body of the black African a threat to their way of life, a threat of usurpation and the inversion of a natural order, in which the prey becomes the predator. The remoteness of farms and the fear of ‘darkest Africa’ – darkness thought here both in terms of the dark nights in the wild, and in terms of the (impenetrable, unfathomable) body of the African – demanded protection through arming and securing the farm. It was therefore in hunting and wildlife preservation and management in the rural areas that forms of racial organization were pioneered – the counterpart to the (mining) compound is the (farm) camp. Game laws provided a way to articulate this as protection, but also as hunting down and eliminating, exiling, and removing the threats Africans posed to animals and farmers. Ashforth notes the centrality of the land question to the figuring of the ‘native

³⁷ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 120.

³⁸ Ashforth’s Grand Tradition argues that race and racial division regarding the ‘native question’ were primarily concerned with securing labor for the Rand mines and urban centers of Johannesburg and Pretoria. While urban labor was certainly a central focus of racial politics in South Africa, farmers voiced their concerns to the Fagan Commission over labor ‘deserting’ their farms and threats to their livelihoods (Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse* 125, and footnote 35 on pg. 145). This was not simply the application of a racial policy formed around the need for urban labor onto the white farms and reserves of the Transvaal, but an articulation of a differentiated rural set of concerns. A Rand-centric perspective on industrialization, mining, labor dominates the historiography of South Africa race making. The notable exceptions are Ashforth, as well as Martin Legassick, *The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana, and the Missionaries, 1780-1840* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010), and Gary Minkley & Ashley Westaway, “The Application of Rural Restitution to Betterment Cases in the Eastern Cape,” *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies* 31, no. 1 (2005): 104-128. Also see Gary Minkley, “Legacies of Struggle: Martin Legassick and the Re-Imagining of South African History,” *South African Historical Journal* 56, no. 1 (2006): 2-8; and Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

question'. Land – both farms and game reserves/black African reserves – in the western Transvaal remain central to social and political questions of today, and thus must be examined through the primary governing/spatial logic of this land: the game farm and hunting practices. The double meaning of the word 'reserve' cannot be overlooked here. The organization of the space of the 'Native Reserve' and 'wildlife reserve' share remarkably similar administrative aims and practices for governing bounded (bio)spheres of human/natural worlds for the benefit of 'society', read as white/European.

The Report on the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation 1945

The committee that compiled the Report on the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation 1945 was made up of five men: The chairman, S. A. Lombard,³⁹ and the members, M. A. C. Donovan, C. F. Beckett, P. J. Kock, and J. Stevenson-Hamilton.⁴⁰ Established by resolution on 28 March 1945, the Commission began their meetings on 1 June 1945, travelling to towns across the Transvaal to gather information from white farmers. Their report was submitted 22 October 1945.

The committee found what they referred to as widespread and keen support for wild life protection by farmers as well as demands for stiff sentences for poachers. This report was foregrounded by a particularly poignant, yet subtle, racial perspective that drew

³⁹ Today there is a nature reserve named after Lombard in what is now North West Province. The reserve credits itself with having saved the black wildebeest from extinction. The promotional video on the North West Province Tourism website has no words, but combines a series of majestic shots of wildebeest on the plains with a militarized black ranger troop to give the effect of the proper role of training and uniformity for today's 'reserves'. See Bloodlines chapter for more on preservation and wildlife conservation 'training'. <http://www.tourismnorthwest.co.za/sa-lombard-nature-reserve/#tab=tab-1>

⁴⁰ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para 2. It is important that J. Stevenson Hamilton was on this committee. As the first warden of the Kruger National Park, and a prolific author – notably his *South African Eden* and *The Transvaal From Within* – his views held a great deal of political weight in terms of game protection. See my discussion of his role in denying proposals for the Palala Game Reserve in the Waterberg in the *Achter die berg* chapter. He also has become a central subject of historical interest, see Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995).

heavily on the trope of ‘native’ destruction of game and the continued ‘sporting’ instinct of the white farmers to whom the committee spoke.⁴¹

We find further substance for this view in the general encouragement of wild life preservation [by white farmers], and a keen desire to establish and preserve the rarer species. Further evidence of farmers interest in game protection are the antagonism to poachers, the determined demands for salutary sentences to be imposed on all offenders against the game laws of the Province, and insistence for the removal of all agencies which tend to the extermination of wild life.⁴²

The commission here makes a direct correlation between *interest* in game protection and *antagonism* to poachers. This is saying more than that game protection benefits from anti-poaching efforts.⁴³ It places the presumed African poacher as the body and object that the second half of this excerpt is framed around; namely the ‘salutary sentences’ and ‘removal of all agencies’ – an interesting phrase that leaves interpretation open as to whether ‘all agencies’ also includes removing poachers. Certainly many farmers would read it this way and it seems implied by the commission. I read this as Chamayou’s ‘exile’ appearing already in paragraph seven of the report. Chamayou (above) understands exile as the product of pastoral power. In this case the cynegetic pastoral power of the state named the poacher as outside the community of farmers concerned with game protection and thus in need of removal, discursively and physically. The commission justified itself via the need to find a proper balance between wild life and the increase in agricultural activities on farms in game areas, and via the need to the exclude African people.⁴⁴ At the time, game on privately owned land was still not viewed as an important part of the economic life of the country in terms of tourism. The commission’s

⁴¹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para 8.

⁴² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para 7.

⁴³ Note here again Ashforth’s quote from Nicholas Wiehahn above.

⁴⁴ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 10. Ashforth emphasizes the notion of ‘balance’ as a central idea structuring the political ideology of the state and its economy in the 1930s-40s. This is both a labor balance and a rural/urban spatial balance. See his analysis of the Native Economic Commission, Ashforth Chapter 3.

view was that such tourism was still rightly confined to parks and reserves. Concern was about erecting fences to keep game *out* of farms and the prohibitive costs associated with that move. Here the commission also uses the word ‘antagonism’, but with regard to game and the destruction of crops.⁴⁵

The balance that the commission promoted was twofold. Firstly, antagonism toward game needed to be balanced against farming – the aim was to accomplish this through amending the game ordinance to support farmer/landowner control over hunting game on their property and to promoting the reservation of land for game outside of the national park system. Second, antagonism toward poaching and poachers needed to be balanced with game protection, achieved through the protection and martial empowerment of the white farmer and farm. This extension of cynegetic power exclusively to white farmers was to be accomplished through increasing the severity of penalties for contravention of the game law: poaching, trespassing, keeping dogs, keeping particular firearms, and transporting/selling game flesh and products – all prohibitions that would affect Africans more than European farm owners.⁴⁶ The surveillance and security aspects of these anti-poaching efforts were articulated in the proposed powers to be given to most any European landowner or lessee. The variations/articulations/permutations of these penalties and proscriptions were now almost a century old, yet return in this report with a sense of social and political urgency. They have accumulated not only within the Game

⁴⁵ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 10. Today, fencing practices are markedly different in the sense of keeping game in and poachers out. – This shift in fencing began in the 1960s and indicates the unsettled nature of these discussions and the ongoing adaptive strategies – economic and technological – used to navigate the unstable terrain of a secure white farming culture in the western Transvaal. See Harry Wels’ on securitization of the farm as a game farm.

⁴⁶ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 353.

Commission and game ordinances, but also alongside other laws and policies aimed at securing white power and control through the state.⁴⁷

Prior to enumerating penalties and surveillance recommendations, the commission made an important distinction regarding Africans as ‘occupiers’ of land:

The Ordinance should, in our opinion, be amended to define the term “occupier” so as to indicate clearly that it will not include a native servant or squatter on a farm, or a native living on Crown Land or on Native Trust Land. The suggestion for this amendment is to avoid confusion of native squatters, with bona fide occupiers of land. As an illustration, we may refer to sub-section (3) of section five of the Ordinance which permits an occupier of land to be in possession of snares and traps. There are areas which are occupied by natives only, and they have been held to be occupiers within the meaning of the sub-section.⁴⁸

This explicit connection between land (occupier status) and black African ways of hunting (snaring and trapping that had been curtailed/relegated to such forms/practices by the prohibition of the sale and ownership of guns for Africans) is the point at which the Game Commission intervenes with its legal recommendation. Justified through the witness statements of white farmers, the commission recommended the exiling of the ‘native’ from the farm, and farming community, unless they inhabited the position of laborer.⁴⁹ In his Memorandum on the Draft New Game Ordinance 1949, drawing on the Game Commission Report, Secretary of the Interior Ivan more clearly stated the racial distinction and the making of the ‘native-as-poacher’:

Although the existing ordinance [Game Ordinance, 1935] prohibits snares being brought on to land, it nevertheless allows an owner or occupier to do so. In certain parts of the Transvaal large areas are occupied entirely by natives. These natives have been held to be “occupiers” for the purposes of this ordinance, and are consequently

⁴⁷ See discussion of 1846 Ohrigstad and subsequent laws in *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁴⁸ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para 212. The racial difference of ‘bona fide occupiers’ here is implied and understood as white titled landowners and farmers.

⁴⁹ Beinart notes that the farmer elite, the ‘Progressives’ of capital and conservation, shaped policy in the first half of the 20th century due to being both farmers and involved in politics. He cites issues of compulsory dipping, irrigation projects, jackal extermination, and the Drought Commission. See Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation*, Introduction. I argue that hunting and its practices played a central role in the perspective these farmers brought to race, conservation/preservation, and notions of development.

entitled to have these implements of destruction in their possession. The use of the new definition in the proposed draft ordinance will make this an offence.⁵⁰

Not only are snares here implements of destruction, but the ‘natives’ who use them also become figured as implements of destruction themselves. Once exiled as occupiers, the exercise of cynegetic power aimed at control and elimination of African hunters and their redefinition as poachers, who would then have committed an ‘offence’ for using snares and traps, could begin. The commission followed this occupier designation with a series of recommended measures of surveillance and control which was written in the language of game preservation, but which operated as an exclusionary and violent control of the African population laboring on and living in proximity to these farms. Labor remained a central issue nationally, and was taken up in the Native Laws Commission (Fagan) in the years between the 1945 Game Commission of Inquiry and the election of the National party in 1948. Attempts to navigate the difficulties of racial separation and farm security while at the same time attracting and maintaining sufficient labor for farms and towns was on the minds of white South Africans, particularly in the post-war years of the late 1940s.⁵¹ As discussed above in the Imagining Waterberg and *Achter die berg* chapters, white farmers increasingly settled the Waterberg during the early decades of the 20th century, and Ellisras as a town *achter die berg* was established. Seleka was the one scheduled black African settlement in the region and the remainder of black Africans were scattered on farms, or slowly moving in to Ellisras. As part of the discourse on farmland, the Game Commission’s exclusion of black Africans as ‘occupiers’ and the subsequent game ordinance was key to defining the power of the state. Enforcement of the game laws thus became the means through which the state could exercise its powers

⁵⁰ Memorandum: Draft New Game Ordinance, 4 May 1949, MVE 9/25 9/30, Vol. 335, NASA.

⁵¹ See Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, Chapter 4.

of surveillance and control on farms. Or, thinking with Chamayou, the state exercised its cynegetic power, thereby authorizing a ‘manhunt’ for the black Africans now legally ‘exiled’ from the land by the revocation of their occupier status.⁵²

Firstly, the commission recommended the continued practice that presumption of the law be made in favor of the Crown.⁵³ Assuming guilt with regard to poaching – possession of biltong, animal products, and poaching tools (snares/traps/torches) – was disproportionately applied to Africans.⁵⁴ The commission reported that Europeans (supposedly) did not use traps and snares and thus recommended that all such materials be banned and their use, by ‘natives’, punished.⁵⁵ In self-selecting farmers as witnesses to the commission, it is not surprising that there was a consensus that ‘we,’ the white farmers and landowners, are not poachers but, rather, hunt in the ‘proper’ way.⁵⁶ When coded white, possession of biltong, animal products, and snares/traps/torches was not criminalized, or if it was, the law was seemingly not equally applied. This is an example of racialization, of construction of racial difference through the law and official discourse (Ashforth, Pohlandt-McCormick) that, through the specificity of hunting, ties directly to Chamayou’s notion of a ‘manhunt’ by the state through the hunting of poachers. The material life of hunting and its historical practices combines here with other conditions such as limiting access to the land and restrictions against owning guns that forced black

⁵² Enforcement likely remained difficult or locally administered, particularly in the Waterberg. Records of cases were not available at the National Archives of South Africa. These would make for a fascinating addition to this study if they could be located. My focus here is on the precedent set through the legal shift in occupier status and its implications for hunting on farms.

⁵³ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 97. See discussion of this legal presumption in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁵⁴ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 97.

⁵⁵ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 140.

⁵⁶ Recall here the After Riders chapter on the establishment of proper hunting tactics and ethics – this despite the numerous accounts of hunts that took several shots to kill an animal – particularly elephants, wounded animals left to die without pursuit, and other such actions that mark the ‘indiscriminant’ killing that characterized much of the degradation/extermination language used to promote early conservation/preservation debates at the turn of the 20th century.

Africans to use traps and snares when they did need to hunt. This is yet another way of the creation of racialized difference materially through hunting. It is interesting to note here that the presumption of the law was a presumption of possession, which, for Africans, presumed the intent to sell for profit.⁵⁷ There is no mention of the possibility of possession for consumption.⁵⁸ This is particularly striking in the wake of de Beer's arguments a few decades earlier. It seems that the notion of subsistence hunting had moved beyond the national radar as a legitimate practice of securing rural livelihood, whether white or black, despite the recent memory of poor whites being as much a rural as an urban phenomenon.⁵⁹ The commission recognized the existing Game Ordinance⁶⁰ as 'sound in principle' but noted that it had not had the desired effect of deterring poaching due to the inability to comprehensively enforce the laws.⁶¹ To aid in deterring poaching, the committee recommended increased severity of punishment – the imposition of minimum penalties including hefty fines and imprisonment 'with or without hard

⁵⁷ The recurrence of these provisions of presumption of guilt and possession, exacerbated by a removal of occupier status, form part of the larger scope of anxieties among white farmers and landowners. The concern with an intent to sell for profit echoes the early 20th century debates about biltong hunting for the market (see *Achter die berg*), but also points to the persistent capitalistic notion of competition, capital as a 'manhunting' power of modernity (see discussion of Chamayou in the Introduction). Charles van Onselen details the success of some 'native' farmers such as Kas Maine and the effects that such success had on the debates regarding poor white farmers and social relations the rural areas as farmers negotiated the markets and droughts of the first half of the 20th century. In his preface to the work, Van Onselen notes that the emerging identity of South Africa will come from these rural spaces, particularly the Highveld, and I would add the *bushveld* of the Waterberg. van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine*, v-vii.

⁵⁸ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*.

⁵⁹ See *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁶⁰ This was the Game Ordinance of 1935 (Ordinance No. 11 of 1935), which was amended by the Game Amendment Ordinance No. 10 of 1936 and Game Amendment Ordinance No. 11 of 1941. Again, the recommended change in occupier status came as part of the 1945 Game Commission and was included in the new game ordinance of 1949.

⁶¹ Recall that in the Waterberg in particular, enforcement remained difficult due to the limited number of police and the large area of land to be patrolled. This was noted by Stevenson-Hamilton during his visit regarding the Palala Game Reserve in the early 1900s and remained an issue noted by Waterberg officials. One aspect of remedying this was empowering all white males with the powers of policing to expand the pool of men who could enforce the law. See discussion of this in *Achter die berg* chapter.

labor,⁶² confiscation of banned tools, equipment and vehicles, restrictions on movement (trespassing, movement at night), prohibitions on burning veld, limits and bans on owning dogs, and the registering of names and addresses – was intended to effectively halt poaching activities associated with African hunting practices.⁶³

However, this view on restricting the use, trading and hunting of animal products, as it pertained to whites, was not universally held by all farmers. Mr. Bakker, Member Provincial Council (MPC) for Waterberg introduced a motion on 18 April 1945, adopted by the Provincial Council, for unrestricted sale of imported biltong and hides.⁶⁴ Here we see Bakker and the Waterberg, in the spirit of de Beer (*Achter die berg* chapter) lobbying for the persistence of the hunting trade in the region. The report does not make it clear, but likely this points to the persistence of consumption hunting as well as the need for farmers and black Africans to supplement farming incomes with trade in game products. The commission rejected Bakker's motion as antithetical to preservation citing their previous concerns about destruction of game through its commodification (though commodification becomes the economic solution of the last decades of the 20th century).⁶⁵

⁶² While hard labor was legally framed as a punishment for transgressing game (and other) laws, ideologically it was also understood to be instructive as part of development for 'Natives' on their path toward development and a cure for 'idleness'. Ashforth, *Politics of Official Discourse*, 125.

⁶³ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 94 (transport and transfer of animal products), 114 (trespassing), 118 (movement of arms and ammunition), 144, 155, 160, 161 (minimum penalties for specified offenses). There is an extensive section of the report that deals directly with dogs and the dog tax. Ultimately, the recommendation was to curb Africans' dog ownership and use of dogs for hunting through severe penalties and punishments. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para 214-262.

⁶⁴ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 99. Imports via the Waterberg would have from across the Limpopo, from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and what is now Botswana, and not from the north, where they would need to pass through Zoutpansberg first. This was part of the long debate about hunting being conducted across the Limpopo and how animals and hunters moved in the area. See my discussion of this in the early decades of the 20th century in the *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁶⁵ It is important to note the inconsistency of language in the narrative of the Report. Regarding night shooting with spotlights, the commission refers to these people as 'hunters' and assumes they are

Again, as the committee noted numerous times, a major concern was enforcement of the game laws. The solutions to snaring and trapping, apart from more definitive language of prohibition, were to increase surveillance, tracking, and capture. Increased numbers of patrols, presumption of guilt, imposing minimum penalties, and registering of names and addresses was intended to effectively halt poaching activities, as well as activities understood to be black African hunting practice but now seen to be associated with poaching. Thus there were particular efforts to prohibit black Africans from burning the veld as a way to flush out game (and subsequently attract game back with the growth of new grass, which was also used for livestock) and hunting with dogs.⁶⁶

Not all parties concerned with preservation had the same views on ‘native’ hunting practices. The Wild Life Protection Society (WLPS) voiced considerable concern regarding the unequal toll minimum fines would have on ‘natives’ vs. Europeans, citing subsistence snaring and trapping.⁶⁷ However, the same WLPS committee saw imprisonment as the alternative to minimum fine payment as a suitable rectifier for the unequally harsh imposition of fines on black Africans. The unevenness or inconsistent concern with black African wellbeing and livelihoods shows the dispersed and often different application, extension, or enforcement of cynegetic power, as Chamayou would describe it. The conferring of police powers on a variety of the members of the European community, the difference in opinions around ‘native’ subsistence trapping and snaring, the role of imprisonment in relation to fines, confiscation of weapons and material, development of informant circles all point to the contingencies involved in attempting to

townspeople. They are not labeled as poachers, though penalties are suggested to be severe. Again, there is the presumption of guilt if found to be transporting game at night. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 100-105.

⁶⁶ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 289 (o).

⁶⁷ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 153.

articulate and then solve, the overlapping ‘problems’ of farm labor and wildlife preservation.

Indeed, the use of imprisonment ‘with or without hard labor’ as an alternative to minimum fines connects breaches of the game law directly to contemporaneous debates about the continued use of ‘slave labor’ in the building of South Africa’s infrastructure networks. Prisoners were often organized into work gangs employed by road and communication departments. That there are still debates about the use of these prisoners for their labor framed through the concept of slavery and race points to the serious and ongoing legacies that a practice of racial surveillance in hunting was, and is, a part of. These claims are used to justify white rule in South Africa as having benefitted non-whites in ways they could never have done for themselves.⁶⁸ In addition to fines and imprisonment, the commission recommended confiscating guns and vehicles for particular offenses combined with minimum fines up to 100 or six months in prison.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See Tembeka Ngcukaitobi, “On Zille and the Familiar Distortions of Black History,” *The Con*, April 11, 2017, <http://www.theconmag.co.za/2017/04/11/on-zille-and-the-familiar-distortions-of-black-history/> for a rebuttal of contemporary white claims to having built South Africa’s infrastructure. See also Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Nairobi: East African Publishers Ltd., 1972), on the ‘benefits’ of infrastructure that colonialism is said to have bequeathed Africa, Chapter 5, “Africa’s Contribution to the Capitalist Development of Europe – The Colonial Period”: “A great deal of ... forced labor went into the construction of roads, railways, and ports to provide the infrastructure for private capitalist investment and to facilitate the export of cash crops” (166); and Chapter 6, “Colonialism as a System for Underdeveloping Africa”: “in Africa, labor, rather than capital, took the lion’s share in getting things done. With the minimum investment of capital, the colonial powers could mobilize thousands upon thousands of workers. [...] Embakasi, which initially covered seven square miles and had four runways, was described as ‘the world’s first handmade international airport.’ Mau Mau suspects numbering several thousand were to be found there ‘laboring under armed guard at a million-ton excavation job, filling in craters, laying a half million tons of stone with nothing but shovels, stone hammers and their bare hands.’” (209-210).

⁶⁹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 160. Racialized gun restriction – banning ownership by black Africans and the sale of guns to black Africans – was a part of the earliest game legislation in the Transvaal (1846 and 1858 laws discussed above in *Achter die berg* chapter). As a key technology of hunting, however, the possession of guns by black Africans was both central to the hunting economy of the 19th century as well as a means of security and protection, or of antagonism and raiding. The *commando* (groups of armed men used to police and raid) was closely linked with the hunting party and, as argued elsewhere, the ability to enforce gun restrictions in places like the Waterberg was limited (see *After Riders* and *Achter die berg* chapters). For an extensive study of the gun in South Africa,

Another complicating layer to the problem of enforcement was the incentivizing/financialization of surveillance. Acknowledging the difficulty of enforcing game laws, such incentives recommended that informants be paid 25% of a fine for information that led to conviction.⁷⁰ The promotion of informant circles via financial incentives in poor, displaced and relocated communities can present a motive for false accusations – and foster intra-community predation – a precursor to/testing ground for apartheid-era counterinsurgency tactics. This is not unique to the enforcement of game laws. The use of police informants and the establishment of positions of power within law enforcement for non-whites that had the effect of dividing sections of the non-white community against each other was a prevalent tactic of colonial and apartheid rule. Yet this divide and rule strategy is precisely a manhunt as outlined by Chamayou – the state utilizing police for control, as well as capital infiltrating these technologies of control with a consequence of intra-community predation. This takes on a particular racial aspect in South Africa.⁷¹

The solution to the enforcement of these prohibitions was to increase surveillance, tracking, and capture. In lieu of a cost prohibitive extensive expansion of patrols, the commission recommended expanding the powers of police to include most any white male in the rural areas: this included ‘conferring powers similar to those of the Police under the game laws on: (i) stock inspectors and inspectors of lands, (ii) field officers of

see William Kelleher Storey, *Guns, Race, and Power in Colonial South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), particularly Chapter Four, “Hunting, Warfare, and Guns along the Northern Frontier, 1975-1868.” Storey’s argument traces the gun as a technology and how it relates to the extension of colonial political power. See also Clapperton Mavhunga, “Firearms Diffusion, Exotic and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the Lowveld Frontier, South Eastern Zimbabwe 1870-1920,” *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society* 1, no. 2 (August 2003): 201-231.

⁷⁰ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 162.

⁷¹ This is not unique to South Africa. See work on the surveillance of blacks in the US – slaves, then Jim Crow, and now the ‘New Jim Crow’ of the system of mass incarceration. Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2012).

the Native Affairs Department, (iii) outdoor officers and traffic officers of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, and, (iv) landowners'.⁷² These men, as well as the proposed creation of special Game Patrols, were to be "adequately clothed with power" and paid for from the Provincial Revenue Fund.⁷³ Again, this is a striking resonance with early settler 'commandos' and their reinvention during the South African War (see *After Riders* chapter), but it is also an intensification of detail regarding the white population. It is no longer just landowners and *burghers* who are empowered (see *Achter die berg* chapter, but the intensifying colonial and apartheid administrative state of inspectors and officers of various departments. This is a step in the accumulation of these types of expanded police powers via hunting laws over the last century that demonstrates the expanding reach of administration into rural areas in the Waterberg.⁷⁴ Bakker's motion above points to the different opinions regarding the expansion of this bureaucracy. The subjectivity with which 'adequacy' (above) could be interpreted (legally, technologically, politically) ultimately came down to notions of trust along racial lines. Trust, as the purview of whiteness along race, class, and cultural lines, is central to capitalist modernity and the economization/commodification of everything, a "system-wide currency" that needed to be standardized.⁷⁵ The commission noted concern about adopting a program from East Africa that gave natives power to watch over activities of Europeans, and the acknowledgement of the differing sentiments around racial interaction in the Union of South Africa.⁷⁶ This echoed sentiments earlier in the

⁷² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 164.

⁷³ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 168.

⁷⁴ This also serves as an indicator of the shift to managerial language in the actual game ordinances that will be discussed in the *Securing Separation* chapter below.

⁷⁵ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 89. This entailed the need to undermine any form of solidarity/trust among 'natives.'

⁷⁶ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 172.

commission report about the ‘word of a good man’ and the ‘reliability’ of witnesses who had ‘no reason’ to speak anything but the ‘truth’.⁷⁷

The power conferred on the white rural male was a cynegetic power organized/conceptualized around the hunting of the African poacher. The trustworthiness of white farmers, evidenced in their own words (those which commissions sought to begin with, as Ashforth points out, to justify their work and their conclusions), also came to justify the farmer and landowners’ inherent discourse of conservation in the opening paragraphs of the report.⁷⁸ I could not locate the minutes [records] of evidence for the Game Commission, despite multiple weeks of searching in the National Archives in Pretoria. In part my desire to find these was in order to get at the specific language and detail given by farmers from the Waterberg region that met with the committee in Nylstroom. Further, this desire is informed by a disciplinary/institutional urging and expectation that the archive can be secured, and that a more authoritative narrative could be located, in/through these texts. The absence of the text of the minutes instead provides an opening toward imagining a relationship with the Waterberg that runs somewhat parallel to its absence in the historiography, its historical position as marginal to the dominant narrative of South Africa figured precisely by its geographic isolation and archival absence. These absences mark a provocation to think differently about how to access a historical narrative of hunting in the Waterberg. Achieving the cohesion of a comprehensive accounting of the region is impossible, but in turn the Waterberg makes possible a stitching together of fragments of hunting practice and discourse that might not

⁷⁷ The echo of J Percy Fitzpatrick’s trustworthy straight, strong, white man in the wilderness and on the wagon routes reverberates here, which I explore in a discussion of his *Jock of the Bushveld*, in the After Riders chapter.

⁷⁸ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 6-7.

otherwise be in conversation with one another. The absent minutes of evidence, brushed against by references from the official report, speak in silence to the renderings of history produced in a present past that is imaginable, and thus might be creatively productive in thinking differently than one could/would with a series of statements laid out in text.⁷⁹

The Report remains, perhaps like the report of a rifle echoing in the *bushveld* as the sign of a kill; snares and traps make less/no sound, though the agony of death for those caught can be heard if one is in close enough proximity. The commission heard the voices of those who wielded the rifle, and the discursive power to shape the narrative, and stated,

The conclusion we have unanimously come to is that the continued existence of game on privately owned land is very largely due to protection afforded by the landowners. We are convinced that if farmers had been indifferent to wild life preservation there would have been very little wild life left on privately owned land.⁸⁰

The commission then could, through its self-serving witness reports and testimonies, recommend that landowners be given ownership of their game and be given unrestricted ability to hunt game on their own land, with non-landowning white farmers still allowed to hunt with proper license and permission.⁸¹ This has strong resonances with the protection discourses of the early 1900s and the creation of game reserves like Kruger National Park, to which de Beer and the poor white hunters of Waterberg served as the foil. Further, the recent Native Trust and Land Act of 1935, and attendant notions of trusteeship, of holding land in trust until black Africans could realize separate self-

⁷⁹ Here I am thinking with Didi-Huberman's notion of the absent/presence in the archive to get at the way these gaps in the archive are remembered and central to imagining a culture/place/region. Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, trans. Shane B. Lillis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). This connects back to the way that the Waterberg continues to be (re)imagined in the post-apartheid (see *Imagining Waterberg* chapter).

⁸⁰ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 6.

⁸¹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para 179. The question of game ownership was not resolved in the report. Questions around fencing, migratory animals, and proving ownership persisted. It was only with the increased enclosure through game fencing, again from the 1960s, that ownership became more definable, and economically productive.

government, both called for separation on the land along racial lines and required policing those divides. In relation to the prohibition of snare/trap ownership cited above, and immediately following the recommendation of excluding black Africans as ‘occupiers’, the committee proposed convicting ‘natives’ under different clauses in order to avoid them escaping punishment on technicalities, recommending:

The addition of an omnibus clause to enable conviction under a section other than that under which an accused is charged if the evidence indicates his guilt under such other section.⁸²

The presumption of guilt overrode the technicality of the law and thus underwrote the black African as poacher within the practice/application of the law regardless of its technical wording. While both white and black could be convicted of contravention under this proposed clause, its placement within the report adjacent to the ‘occupier’ recommendation implies a disproportionate focus on black Africans. As Saul Dubow argued, “as an ideology, the essential strength of segregation was its ambiguity. It encompassed both a strain of liberal protectionism as well as strong elements of racial exclusivism.”⁸³ Dubow here is referencing the increasing diversity of segregation polities under the Hertzog administration of the 1920s and 1930s, but his argument resonates with my analysis of the hunting laws particularly in the way that they were both about protection of game and the protection of white society through exclusion on the farms where game was to be found and where hunting served as a cultural marker of identity. The justification for reliability/trust remained the purview of the white European even if unfenced land, large acreage, and limited capacity to patrol for poachers, would also

⁸² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 213.

⁸³ Saul Dubow, “Holding “A Just Balance Between White and Black”: The Native Affairs Department in South Africa c. 1920-33,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 12 (1986): 238.

enable whites to poach.⁸⁴ Thus the framing here is a racial one with regard to whose word to trust – the white farmer was the trustee, he who can be trusted, of game, and thus was also the trustee of the laws that governed game, namely those of hunting.

Simultaneously the Commission could define the African populations into exile and write into the recommendations the exercise of cynegetic power to pursue threats to the white farmer dominated rural social order. With the issuance of the revised 1949 Transvaal Game Ordinance (Ordinance No. 23 of 1949), based on the 1945 Report of the Game Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation, coming on the heels of the election of the National Party in 1948, the scene began to intensify in new ways.

On education

To speak of a social ‘question’ then, or to view some peoples’ lives as a ‘problem’ is to name those people as a subject of power, the power presumed capable of ‘solving’ the problem they constitute. To name a problem and to seek causes from which to reason solutions, that is, ways of producing desired effects, is also to specify ways in which these matters may be properly spoken of. It is to constitute a realm of discourse in the terms of which the knowledge necessary for power can be discovered and expressed.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ The commission explored the various issues around license permits for numbers of game on unfenced land and the issue of migratory animals in and out of unfenced land as a problem for enforcing poaching. Farmers were encouraged to establish their own reserves. Ultimately it recommended a fixed number of animals to be licensed for hunting per 1000 morgen. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 284. There was debate and concern over the appropriate size of a farm in relation to livestock grazing that necessarily influenced debates on game and hunting licensing as well. Fencing in the first half of the 20th century was intended to keep livestock on a farm, but was not the game fencing ubiquitous in the Waterberg and elsewhere today, which emanated from the game enclosure provisions of the 1960s and expanded considerably after game could become legal property in 1991. See discussion in Securing Separation chapter. As Shaun Milton notes, most farms in the Waterberg and western *bushveld* of the Transvaal were around 1400-2000 morgen, much smaller than the 18000 recommended by agricultural officials in the 1920s. This eventually led to the loss of viability for large-scale livestock farming in the area. Shaun Milton, “The Transvaal Beef Frontier: environment, markets, and the ideology of development, 1902-1942,” in *Ecology & Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*, eds. Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 202.

⁸⁵ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 5. .

Ashforth is drawing on Foucault's "The Subject and Power,"⁸⁶ and then connects this to notions of mastery associated with modernity – 'man vs. nature' and state mastery over the social. Commissions of inquiry were a means to exercise power toward 'solving' 'problems' of the social through the 'logic' of the modern state and they were a particular way in which the state produced knowledge. The particularity here is in specifying "the ways in which these matters may be properly spoken of." In the *After Riders* chapter I argued that the 'proper' practices of the hunt and their attendant positions for black Africans were enshrined in hunting narratives and I connected this to a notion of 'training,' or education, and the civilized/savage rendering of white hunter encounters with black Africans. Ashforth's argument is that the Grand Tradition of commissions on the Native Question was similarly constituted as a 'proper way of speaking' about race and the black African. I want to draw on Foucault's understanding of discourse that derives meaning from a text's incorporation into "a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences." This set of interactions between texts, those that write and read them, as well as those with the economic and social power to speak and disseminate them, constitute a 'discourse' for Foucault.⁸⁷ For the Game Commission, this discourse was tied closely to hunting and the need to educate 'natives.' Despite my focus on exiling farm workers as 'poachers,' this was not the only conception of how to deal with Africans and their relation to wildlife. The committee agreed with the suggestion of some of the witnesses they met with that there was a, "need for the education and propaganda to be extended to the native children."⁸⁸ Education of both Europeans and Africans was deemed essential for promoting wild life preservation via "motion pictures in schools,

⁸⁶ Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (Summer 1982): 777-795.

⁸⁷ <http://www.michel-foucault.com/concepts/>.

⁸⁸ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 73.

special radio talks, suitably illustrated literature, lectures to farmers, lectures to school children, and special facilities for European and Native children to visit Kruger National Park.”⁸⁹

The emphasis of education was centered on children and there was debate among witnesses about the extent to which the ‘propaganda’ should be targeted at adults. The committee settled on the following summarization of the desired ends of wild life education:

Opinion varied as to the need for propaganda with the adult section of the population, some witnesses considering that it would be a wasted effort, while others regard that the poachers are not all incorrigible. We feel however that education and propaganda assisted by a strict application of the provisions of the Game laws, the imposition of very severe penalties, the confiscation of fire arms and vehicles, improved police supervision and the facilitation of proof should go a long way towards the elimination of the illegal hunter.⁹⁰

While acknowledging that both European and black African poachers were a problem, the coupling of education ‘assisted’ by strict application of the law, followed immediately by an argument for lifting restrictions on landowners whose practices were considered an ‘example’ to be set for ‘others’ [read here as ‘native’], continued to mark the underlying racial bias of the committee. This links the proper education of the ‘native’ with the cynegetic power of the state – articulated in the quote above as Game laws and penalties, disarmament, policing, and elimination – and justified by the ‘trusted’ white farmer witness (reading Baucom, from above), whose observation and transmission of hunting and poaching standardized the narrative of hunting. Whites without supervision of the police, or on behalf of and empowered as the police, could be trusted to preserve and conserve game. Black Africans needed surveillance, fear/threat, assistance, and

⁸⁹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para 79.

⁹⁰ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 80.

education, in order that they not destroy game. As an example of how this would play out in practice, the committee noted that both white and black African poaching took place, the worst offenders being biltong hunters hunting indiscriminately for selling biltong.⁹¹ At this time, game and wild life were not seen as a source of wealth, or a way to accumulate/invest financial capital.⁹² The committee viewed game on private land as beneficial only to the landowner for recreational and aesthetic purposes.⁹³ Biltong markets were the exception and, emphasizing the link between biltong markets and poaching, the commission recommended closing biltong markets. Recall that biltong hunting, the hunting of game to dry its meat for the purposes of sale, had long been a point of contention in the hunting debates (see the debates over the hunting laws and game protection of the early 1900s in the *Achter die berg* chapter). Consuming biltong as a product of a (white) recreational hunt was not seen as a threat to game populations, but procuring biltong for sale implied larger quantities of animals hunted and was seen as a destructive practice. It was likely that most of the biltong hunters were white, but the committee did not draw attention to their poaching apart from deeming that the prohibition of biltong hunting – restricting biltong making and limited selling exclusively to landowners, or those whom they gave permission to hunt – would be sufficient to deal with the problem.⁹⁴ The committee saw the commercialization of game as a negative and

⁹¹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 84.

⁹² This differs from the extensive ivory hunting of the 19th century, the capital of which was used to establish the Boer republics (see quote from das Neves discussed in *Achter die berg* chapter) and was not yet the resurgent hunting industry built on ownership of game (see *Securing Separation and Blood lines* chapters).

⁹³ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 343 This ‘aesthetic’ connects closely to the way the farm was to be reimagined as a hunting and safari farm in the second half of the 20th century and into the post-apartheid drawing on the long history of a sense of the aesthetics of wild life, what a farm in SA should be/look like, and the role of hunting in building/maintaining that aesthetic (see *Imagining Waterberg* and *Blood Lines* chapters).

⁹⁴ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, 94-96.

as a prompt for indiscriminate slaughter of game that would lead to extermination.⁹⁵ The suggested stricter [full prohibition] amendments to section seven of the game laws regarding sale of biltong and hides/skins was intended to curb this extermination.⁹⁶ By limiting sale and production of biltong to *landowners*, this effectively rendered all native hunting illegal and made all hunting ‘natives’ into poachers. It also perhaps made it more difficult for poor white hunters to acquire biltong, though they were still able to purchase a license and hunt for themselves, if not for sale or profit, as evidenced by Baker’s arguments from the Waterberg above.⁹⁷ All the Game Commission deemed necessary for white hunters to be educated about the negative aspects of biltong hunting was to amend the law and retain biltong as a something that could be attained by white hunters through other means. Any black African found with biltong would be understood as likely not having had permission to hunt, and thus was to be educated through the “strict application” of the game laws and provisions.

Game Commission Recommendations

The commission settled on five central points of recommendation:

- (a) Fencing of private game sanctuaries;
- (b) Hunting of farms adjacent to the Kruger National Park and its influence on the Park;
- (c) The vesting of ownership of game in the landowner;
- (d) The importation of exotic game;
- (e) The scientific investigation and study of wild life.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, 91.

⁹⁶ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, 94

⁹⁷ See my discussion of the poor white problem in *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁹⁸ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para 283. The concern with hunting on farms near Kruger National Park was that hunters would cross park fences to hunt. See below.

The Committee cited the views of the WLPS (Wild Life Protection Society), which recommended increases in fencing to protect crops and create private game reserves for farmers who wished to do so. The WLPS cited Mr. Meredith's presidential address for Association for the Advancement of Science in 1943 that the production of fencing could become a great post-war industry as the demand for fencing increased.⁹⁹ Yet, the committee did not go as far as recommending the State subsidize private farm fences because, in terms of game protection, there was no immediate benefit to the State. The farmer and his friends, the arguments went, were the only beneficiaries of the game on private land and thus should bear the costs of any fencing he desired.¹⁰⁰ In the mid-1940s the economic viability of game farming and the need to securitize – by way of fencing – the farm/land had yet to be realized. This shift began to take shape two decades later.¹⁰¹

The discourse on the wholesale destruction of game (ironic, considering 19th Century colonial practices) continued to be a primary justification for the extension of political power into the realm of hunting. The committee extensively cited Dr. Schoch's memorandum on "The Destruction of Game on Land Outside the Kruger National Park" in which he noted that over the previous decade most farms on the Western border of the Park had become private single/syndicate owned farms for hunting. While stating that many farmers only hunted within restricted numbers/seasons, many other farmers hunted indiscriminately and with inexperienced hunters who had poor marksmanship/weaponry and shot more out of blood lust than with an eye toward using the game. What was hunted was often used for biltong, lion bait, or to given to "local natives" or for "feeding

⁹⁹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, 19, para. 284.

¹⁰⁰ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, 19, para. 286.

¹⁰¹ See the Securing Separations chapter.

labourers on farms.”¹⁰² Dr. Schoch’s solution remained consistent with other witness recommendations and those of the committee, a solution of surveillance, tracking and capture of suspected poachers – a practice of manhunting. Recommending the conferring of police powers regarding “wild animals, firearms, dogs, traps and snares, and veld burning” on members of the National Parks Board of Trustees (the most frequent visitors to farms near Kruger National Park), as well as recommending conferring these same powers on revitalized game patrols of a “plain clothed European” with “at least two natives and a few pack donkeys.” Dr. Schoch called on a history of ‘manhunting’ to be intensified and encouraged these patrols to,

follow up hunting parties unbeknown to themselves, and surprise hunters while hunting or in their camps, when least expected. Such police patrols by resourceful men, accustomed to the veld, used to scour the game areas of the Transvaal in winter twenty-five and more years ago and they proved more effective than the motor patrols of recent years.¹⁰³

According to Schoch, these patrols should go into the backcountry and track illegal hunters (he does not use ‘poacher’ here).¹⁰⁴ While Schoch was certainly concerned with the white farmers who hunted biltong excessively, his recommendations for increased policing by ‘resourceful’ men echo the embodiment of trust in the white farmer and hunter. The hunting law, discussed again below, remained focused on prohibitions against black Africans.

¹⁰² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 289 (d).

¹⁰³ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 289 (p). This recommendation bears a striking resemblance to Stevenson-Hamilton’s recommendation for creating clandestine hunting groups to patrol the Koedoesrand Ward of the Waterberg where the Palala Game Reserve had been proposed (see *Achter die berg* chapter). Stevenson-Hamilton also sat on this Game Commission and as the first warden of Kruger National Park would have been sympathetic to Schoch’s arguments, but he also, as evidenced by his decision not to declare the Palala Game Reserve, wanted white farmers to retain their hunting privileges on private land.

¹⁰⁴ However, Schoch uses the term ‘game butchers’ later in this section to define those who would use water provided by cheap dam building on farms adjacent to KNP to entice large numbers of game leading to their slaughter. This language resonates today in the aftermath of the killing of Cecil the lion, see *Blood Lines* chapter.

The Question of Ownership of Game

The essential concepts of liberalism – property/land ownership, the market, and trusteeship – connect most starkly when these realms are proximate to one another. The conservation/preservation/trusteeship ideal inherent in the tourism of the Kruger National Park and its market strategies had yet to be applied to private land (what would become the hunting and safari farms of the post-apartheid). During the 1940s, hunting and conservation were connected through the need to limit the destruction of game, but hunting law retained a focus on controlling hunting on private land while conservation at the national park level was a separate, though connected space. This changed with the incorporation of the Game Ordinance into the broader administration of Nature Conservation in 1967, discussed in the next chapter. The national parks afforded the right to enjoy game on safari, and private land afforded the right to hunt, but neither parks nor landowners owned the game. The Game Commission retained the long-standing acceptance of game as *res nullius*¹⁰⁵ on both private farms and in the Kruger National Park (KNP). It did not see the KNP as having ownership, and thus right to control of game, on adjacent private farms. They could not recommend a legislative change to this, but suggested that adopting stricter licensing, penalties, and patrol measures while promoting cooperation between Parks Board and landowners would reduce the slaughter of game.¹⁰⁶ The reiteration of preservation through penalization, surveillance, and securitization continued here and was followed by an economic argument when the committee stated that the relationship between game and legitimate farming activities

¹⁰⁵ Again, *res nullius* means literally, ‘nobody’s thing.’ See *Achter die berg* chapter.

¹⁰⁶ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. P290-295.

was purely economic, with game being the less important factor.¹⁰⁷ Suggestions to vest ownership in farmers derived, at that time, from a need to control game on farms to ensure the economic survival of livestock and agriculture. The earlier game laws of the 1900s limited farmer ability to have this control, and thus there was antagonism toward the conservation of game by those farmers who had a vested interest in agriculture and for whom game on the farms represented a challenge/competing interest (again, the notion of the ‘game farm’ had still to take shape).¹⁰⁸ However, the question of game ownership was not new. The commission noted that in 1930 Dr. Schoch submitted a memorandum on a ‘Proposed Bill to vest the Ownership of all game on any land in the owner of that land’.¹⁰⁹ Yet the sticking point for taking up a policy of game ownership as vested in the landowner remained the difficulty of legally defining ownership of migratory game and the prohibitive costs of fencing.¹¹⁰ These strategies – intensified fencing and the economic exploitation of game – were not yet an issue at this time, but were to become central to the later success of the private game farming industry. Already in 1945 the commission noted that the existence of fencing adequate to contain game posed a unique challenge to the question of ownership. They cited a memorandum from Mr. Edwards, a ranger employed by the Transvaal Land Owners’ Association that encouraged ownership of game of ‘fenced areas’ because farmers would preserve and

¹⁰⁷ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. P299.

¹⁰⁸ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 300. There was also a focus at this time on the economic need to feed urban areas etc., see Posel on the *Making of Apartheid*, ???

¹⁰⁹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 301. Yet the idea of game ownership was discussed even earlier than this, see *Achter die berg* chapter. Ownership of game was also a global discussion, particularly in the British Commonwealth, and had been up for debate for since the 1800s and the decline of game numbers in many countries. See Edward Harris, *Is Game of Any Value to the Farmer?* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company, 1891).

¹¹⁰ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 304-305.

foster game out of a sense of pride in ownership and profit in game.¹¹¹ A fully fenced farm thus contradicted the status of game as *res nullius*, whereas before unfenced farms where migratory game could move across and between various farms made claims to ownership impossible to substantiate. The committee endorsed the ownership of game by farmers, but with adherence to season restrictions and license/permit restrictions.

For those few farms that were fully fenced, the commission made specific recommendations:

- (a) that the existing restrictions will continue to apply with respect to game declared to be “protected game”,
- (b) a non-owner will not be permitted to hunt on a fenced farm during the closed season, and that hunting thereon by a non-owner during open season shall take place only on production of a license to hunt game and the written permission of the owner,
- (c) the numbers that may be shot by non-owners to be limited to five head of game per 1,000 morgen,
- (d) a lessee of land on no account to be regarded as an owner,
- (e) “fenced farms” to mean a land that is totally enclosed by fences.¹¹²

The commission supported this deregulation of fully fenced farms for landowners and farmers arguing that farmers going to the expense of fully fencing their land were unlikely to slaughter game. However, in his explanatory Memorandum written along with the Draft New Game Ordinance, the Secretary of the Interior expressed concern that few of the farm owners were true protectionists and that the other ‘class’ of owners would slaughter game if given the opportunity. The question of deregulation and possibilities of ownership in relation to preservation was certainly not a settled debate.¹¹³ Implied in this justification was, again, the trustworthiness of a white farmer’s relationship with regard to his the land that is grounded in particular understandings of a civilized use of land

¹¹¹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 311-312.

¹¹² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 312.

¹¹³ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para.. 313.

through private property.¹¹⁴ These provisions began to lay the groundwork for fully fencing farms as game farms for economic development.¹¹⁵

Scientific Investigation

Without the collaboration of scientific research the following stages in the development of wild life management cannot be attained and enforced successfully -

Restriction of hunting.

Predator control.

Reservation and management of game (parks, forests, refuges, etc.)

Artificial replenishment (e.g. restocking, game farming, etc.)

Environmental control (food, cover [habitat], diseases, etc.)¹¹⁶

The recommendations of the scientific importance of game preservation for ecological, recreation and educational purposes hinged on the need for a professionalization of the game protection industry.¹¹⁷ Of note here is both the call for scientific research but also the recommendation of the application of a managerial approach to wild life where the parenthetical “(game farming)” lingered as a yet unrealized but considered option. With professionalization in mind, the commission

¹¹⁴ These notions of private property go back to John Locke and are prevalent in colonial practices of ‘settlement.’

¹¹⁵ The major shift in game fencing took place in the 1960s and 70s. See Securing Separations chapter.

¹¹⁶ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 319 (b) (v). The Commission here is quoting Dr. Rudolf Bigalke’s recommendation. Rudolf Bigalke wrote extensively on conservation and the scientific approaches to game management. He was appointed to the National Parks Board in 1949 and brought his scientific approaches to the political debates of wild life conservation. See Jane Carruthers, “Conservation and Wildlife Management in South African National Parks 1930s-1960s,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 41, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 215-217. Carruthers notes Bigalke’s both popular and scientific writings. Here we see again the crossover of literary and official discourse in the people and literature making up the experts and policy makers of wild life policy. Stevenson-Hamilton was a similar figure (see *Achter die berg* chapter for a discussion of his writings and political work) and member of the Game Commission.

¹¹⁷ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 317-319. Along with Bigalke, the commission cited a letter by Dr. F.E.T. Krause to the *Star* where Krause wrote, “the methods of control adopted, and considered appropriate, in pioneer days, are now out of date...the real control and preservation of our fauna calls for serious consideration and demand for other measures, and that is where the assistance of science is the common sense and effective way of dealing with and solving the problems” (para. 318). While scientific knowledge had governed much of the implementation of livestock and agriculture policy, it had not been applied as rigorously to game protection by the 1940s.

recommended the creation of a Game Department to serve as an advisory board to the provincial administration.¹¹⁸ The suggested powers of this Game Department were to be:

- (a) detailed survey of wild life breeding, habits, movements for purposes of management
- (b) advise Province, farmers' associations, and landowners on wild game carrying capacities, restocking, disease prevention, vermin control
- (c) carry out wild life conservation policy and education of public on wild life conservation
- (d) set seasons and issue licenses¹¹⁹

Referencing 'thirty five years of inactivity', and that the Transvaal administration could not just pass a law and then not enforce it, the commission stated that this new Game Department was essential.¹²⁰ This meant that the commission viewed attention to game preservation issues as non-existent since the 1910 Union of South Africa and subsequent game law revisions. It is important to note here that the commission recommended scientists be included on the Game Department board, but wanted the majority of the board to be people – farmers and hunters – who had daily experience with game, “persons who have a knowledge of farming conditions generally, of the habits of game and the hunting thereof and who through practical experience, have acquired knowledge as to regard them as outdoor naturalists.”¹²¹ This was an administrative solution to the need posed in the epigraph above regarding the inseparability of farming, hunting and conservation. To this end, there was also a recommendation to create Local Game Committees to be made up of a magistrate and two members nominated by the District

¹¹⁸ The commission felt this was necessary due to the administration's lack of interest in matters pertaining to game preservation and their subsequent findings in the course of their investigations. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 322-324, 331.

¹¹⁹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 325. Note how the knowledge of wild life habits is now seen to be the purview of white landowners and in need of detailed survey. This knowledge is no longer that of the black African communities as it would have been a century, or even half century, earlier.

¹²⁰ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 326.

¹²¹ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 332.

Farmers' Union. This was in support of suggestions by the WLPS that cited the importance of Local Game Committees, if members were well chosen, for their investment in local game protection, ability to assess the character of license applicants, and knowledge of the area and people.¹²² This is another stark example of the notion of trust, via Baucom, that was a "system-wide currency."¹²³ These 'well chosen' individuals who could 'assess character' would be white farmers, bringing their particular 'knowledge of the area and people' to bear on recommendations to the local committee, and then to the provincial Game Department Board. This outlook was predicated on a renewed focus on the importance of wild life for "mental recreation and for the enjoyment of its beauty and interest and for purposes of study and education" in the post-war decades.¹²⁴ The demand for land and game resources meant bringing wild life and recreation into collaboration, and centralised control, with agriculture and forestry as part of post-war development.¹²⁵ The entanglement of these issues was not lost on the commission, who cited work by Dr. de Kock on the overlaps of agriculture economy and game preservation with the need for joint patterns of development.¹²⁶ In terms of hunting and game control, this began to lay the groundwork for a move toward 'development' in the 2nd half of the century and to the hunting and safari farms of the post-apartheid era.

The 1949 Game Ordinance

¹²² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 335-337.

¹²³ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 89.

¹²⁴ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 343.

¹²⁵ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 343.

¹²⁶ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation*, para. 347. Recall the epigraph from above about the need to realize that game control is intimately bound up in the economy of the farm.

The 1949 Game Ordinance adopted most of the recommendations made by the 1945 Game Commission – most significantly the redefinition of occupier that excluded ‘Natives’ as occupiers from any land or on Crown Land or South African Native Trust Land.¹²⁷ While possession of game and hides as evidence of unlawful hunting was not new and resulted in stiff penalties¹²⁸, their recurrence, along with the recommendation for increased scope of powers of surveillance and control conferred on whites, marked an expanding of cynegetic policing of Africans.

Section 25 paragraph 3 of the Ordinance stated:

If any person while trespassing on any land is in pursuit or search of game or while trespassing upon any land on which any game is or is likely to be present is in possession of any firearm or contrivance for the hunting or capturing of game, or is accompanied by any dog, any police officer or the owner or occupier of such land or the holder of shooting rights over such land, or if such land be Crown Land, any magistrate or justice of the peace or any officer in the service of the State who is upon such land, may demand from such person a statement of his full name and place of abode and may direct him forthwith to quit such land, and if such person fails forthwith to comply with such demand or direction or states a false or incomplete name or address he shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine of not less than twenty-five pounds and not exceeding one hundred pounds and in default of payment to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period of not less than three months and not exceeding six months.¹²⁹

Following on this, section 28 paragraph 12 of the Ordinance states:

In any prosecution under this Ordinance or the regulations framed thereunder, any prescribed record, book or document kept by an officer or authorised person in the course of his duty shall be *prima facie* proof of the facts recorded therein upon its production by the officer or person in whose custody it is.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Game Ordinance, 1949. Provincial Council of Transvaal, Definitions.

¹²⁸ This was already in place with the 1935 Game Ordinance, which had consolidated the Transvaal provincial game laws passed between 1905 and 1918. Game Ordinance 1935. No. 11 of 1935, Provincial Council of Transvaal. Also noted in the British W. G. Hoal, A. J. Pienaar, Justice Carlisle, H. Pring, A. A. Hope, E. E. Jenkins and R. J. Morton, “South Africa,” *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* 19, no. 2 (1937): 126.

¹²⁹ Game Ordinance, 1949, Section 25, paragraph 3.

¹³⁰ Game Ordinance, 1949, Section 28, paragraph 12.

The production of discourse and the power of the text/archive created by whites keeping written accounts is blatant here, and connected to the legal powers of policing through hunting (see the discussion of Foucault and the missing minutes of evidence above). As a recurring aspect of previous game laws (though not as detailed in the types of documents kept, see *Achter die berg* chapter), this provision gave legal power to the white merely by fact of something being written by their hand. Thus the (colonial) archive and the white hunter/farmer was here again imbued with powers in which the texts produced by “any police officer or the owner or occupier of such land or the holder of shooting rights over such land, or if such land be Crown Land, any magistrate or justice of the peace or any officer in the service of the State who is upon such land” were to become legally binding with presumed guilt conferred on “any person [presumably thought of as unable to write?] while trespassing on any land is in pursuit or search of game or while trespassing upon any land on which any game is or is likely to be present is in possession of any firearm or contrivance for the hunting or capturing of game, or is accompanied by any dog”. While this language makes no explicit reference to race, it has been noted above, and particularly in the Game Commission regarding ‘occupier’ status, that hunting was the purview of white landowners and those who they gave permission to hunt. This effectively made all black Africans non-hunters legally, and thus poachers. While some whites no doubt contravened the law, its application would fall mostly on black Africans. The intensification that took place here is found in the expansion of the colonial state as noted above in the administrators and their departments (stock inspectors, field officers, the Native Affairs Department), but also the designation/invoke of an archive extending into rural areas and into farm management and the management of black

Africans. This is an important framing of the archive as a technology of power – to use this Ordinance and any other document written in the hand of a white man as *prima facie* evidence alongside a presumption of guilt is not to merely acknowledge its racism and modes of control, but to indicate the extensive/extravagant limits of what was deemed valid evidence for enforcing contravention of laws, laws aimed primarily at Africans. The accumulation of these practices, combined with the eventual removal of the language of race from these ordinances in favor of that of managerial and administratively ‘neutral’ language¹³¹ prefigures the continued assumed locations of truth and power, as well as the assumed and barely disguised ordering of racial social differentiation. It makes identifying white poachers or African conservationists/preservationists difficult to imagine and then only as deviations/exceptions (the farm/hunting had effectively, through the discourse of the law, the commission and the archives so constituted, become a state of exception, to return to Baucom from the *Achter die berg* chapter) from the dominant discourse and narrative of ‘[white] hunters and [black] poachers.’ This is particularly true when that race-neutral language – nevertheless still weighted with racial assumptions – makes it into the post-apartheid legislation and policy.¹³²

The negotiations over the stiff penalties mentioned above for contravention of the Ordinance indicates that, despite European hunting and ‘native’ poaching taking place on rural farms, they were connected materially and socially to larger provincial and national issues concerned with urbanization and labor migration. In a Memorandum on the Draft New Game Ordinance, the Secretary for the Interior, when discussing section 17 paragraph 2 of the proposed 1949 Game Ordinance that addressed penalties for hunting

¹³¹ This transition from racial specific (Bantu, white, non-white) to race neutral language (owners, occupiers, conservators, staff) is taken up in the Securing Separations chapter.

¹³² See Securing Separations and Blood Lines chapters.

with dogs/snares/traps, noted, that “[t]he Conservator of Fauna and Flora considers, however, that these penalties are too low bearing in mind that majority of offenders will be *natives*.” [my emphasis]¹³³ He cited farmers complaining of increased destruction by ‘natives’ and how, because of working in the cities, ‘natives’ had more money, making ten pounds an insufficient fine. His recommendation was a £50 minimum (which the Secretary could support in relation to the earning capacity of natives, thus the £10-100). The Conservator also gave account of destruction by ‘natives’ hunting for food, as well as the emergence of the ‘native’ biltong hunter as evidence requiring higher fines and harsher punishment as a deterrent to “stamp out this evil” of extensive snaring and “ravages of brought about by natives” as reported by the farmers, despite not catching “a single culprit” during his three day investigation of an area where numerous snares were found.¹³⁴ This is the first iteration/occurrence of the ‘native’ biltong hunter as separate from/different to the generic ‘biltong hunter’ who was often, as discusses above, assumed to be a white farmer. Coupled with the presumption on how the majority of offenders would be ‘natives’, this serves as a more explicit marking out of the black African as poacher and indicates the perceptions of who could/should have been hunting and how during the 1940s.

Key to the comments above is that they indicate the broader ‘consensus’ about ‘natives’ as the problem poachers and the need for surveillance and punishment. The connection to urban mine work shows an awareness of the integration of urban mine

¹³³ Memorandum: Draft New Game Ordinance, 4 May 1949. MVE 9/25 9/30 335, NASA.

¹³⁴ Memorandum: Draft New Game Ordinance, 4 May 1949, Clause 17 (2) (i)-(iii). This is the first iteration of the ‘native’ biltong hunter as separate from the generic ‘biltong hunter’ who was often, as discusses above, a white farmer. Coupled with the presumption on how the majority of offenders would be ‘natives’, this serves as a more explicit marking out of the black Africans as poachers and indicates the perceptions of who could/should have been hunting and how during the 1940s.

economies with the rural farms and Reserves, not their separation or mutual exclusion.¹³⁵ This complicates the narrative of the reserves as a backwater and as only in need of more wages from migrant labor to develop. It also complicates the historiographical separation of the rural from the urban, agriculture from industrialization, as well as historiographical conceptions of the 'native,' the 'peasant' as opposed to the worker etc. The increased amount of capital/cash available to Africans on farms and in the reserves, though perhaps small, was enough to convince farmers that Africans could easily (or would easily prefer) to pay the fines for poaching and breach of game laws. Thus their new status in terms of an economic working 'class,' in the minds of farmers and provincial administrators, threatened to move them beyond the reach of existing prevention measures. Combined with redefining occupier status, prohibiting methods and technologies of hunting, and redirecting perception of Africans as destroyers of game, attempts to circumscribe African movement on, and use of, the land was being renegotiated by white farmers via commissions and game laws.

Conclusion

If, as Chamayou states, domination presupposes a type of manhunt; and if, as Ashforth argues, the South African state, through the politics of official discourse of commissions of inquiry, worked to articulate schemes of legitimation for operating a divided racial state economy built on the exploitation of black South Africans, it follows that the workings of the 1945 Game Commission – much like Ashforth's Grand Commissions – can be read as an effort to find a solution to the Native Question as it was

¹³⁵ This attempt at a balance between these two broad categories of economy was a key focus of government policy for much of the mid-20th century. See Ashforth Chapter 3 and 4.

figured on rural farms in the Transvaal through hunting. This makes the Waterberg and its hunter-farming a critical site of the constitution of the racial discourse, as a context – not just situating text, but examining how text is implicated in the meaning of discourse and disciplines¹³⁶ - and the ground upon which the evolutionary and continued stubbornness of the visible and invisible presence of race becomes legible and is repeated into the present. The problems laid out in the Commission's terms of reference, problems in need of a solution, centered on figuring distinctions of occupancy, ownership, hunter and poacher. The racial assumptions of the commission drew on a long history of white hunting and conservation practices in South Africa and were intimately connected to broader national questions of migrant labor (the focus of Ashforth's work). But the main concern and the central focus of the commission was on securing the economic future of the white rural farmer. To secure the farm implied there were threats to its continued existence as a viable economic endeavor.¹³⁷ The debates by those in power – the white farmers, the commission, and the provincial government – needed to justify their efforts at control of farms. This was done by making the farms white spaces and relegating the black farmer to a position as worker, as exile, as criminal, as trespasser – the exile here, like Ashforth's exile, of a laborer and migrant (in terms of farm labor and occupancy status on the farms vs. Reserves). Yet there is a difference. This exiled farm worker, when figured through the Game Commission in relation to conservation and preservation,

¹³⁶ John Mowitt, "The Con Text of Culture," Paper presented at Winter School, Paarl, South Africa, (July 8-12, 2013).

¹³⁷ The Second World War, while increasing the profitability of farms, had also brought about the shift from sharecropping to labor tenancy that resulted in less certainty of farmers securing the labor they needed. This caused anxiety among white farmer and black Africans. This turbulent farm dynamic went alongside the rise of black African political and industrial organizations such as the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union as well as a post-war white Afrikaner nationalist movement of the 1930s and 1940s and it was the conservative rural white farmers whom the National Party reached out to in part to secure their 1948 victory. Van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine*, 289-290. Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 115-120.

not only becomes subject to controls of vagrancy laws and migrancy policing (a surveillance and capture with the intent to relocate/return the exiled migrant to the Reserve), but becomes an social exile in Chamayou's sense, one who is figured as a threat to the survival of the community (in this case, the survival of the community of nature, to be preserved in the present for the future generations of white enjoyment) – the poacher. Such a figuring of the poacher serves two, perhaps three purposes. Firstly, as Ashforth argues regarding the migrant worker, it places the black farm worker/poacher in a particular subordinate/marginalized position in relation to the division of economic labor on farms and in relation to the aims of wildlife conservation/preservation. Secondly, the poacher serves an ideological function of justifying continued administrative and police (armed) intervention into the organization of rural spaces – the farms and the Reserves (both Native/Bantu/Black homelands as well as private wildlife reserves). The threat of the poacher necessitated active surveillance and security measures to demarcate, patrol, and protect these spaces. And this, perhaps leads to a third purpose: The poacher (poacher-as-killer) is always already present as a threat, because (he is) black. Even if only armed with snares and traps, the possibility of the forbidden gun and the (primordial/traditional) hunting expertise/skill prefigure the high-tech organized poaching of the present, and lay the groundwork for the pursuit of the 'terrorist' – significantly – returning from exile and crossing borders/fences claiming the land and the hunting grounds from which he and his people have been expelled. This black-poacher-terrorist – 'insurgents' during the decades of apartheid rule on the horizon – foundationally threatens the status quo of a racially ordered colonial world.

Chapter 5

Securing Separation: Narrating and Legislating the Game Farm from the 1960s-1990s

Trackers [or perhaps historians] need to vary their vision in order to see new things.¹

Louis Liebenberg

The game ordinances that have been the subject of previous chapters were issued by the state via the Transvaal provincial government. From the 1960s through the 1990s, the apartheid state made an important linguistic and operational shift in its game ordinance by placing game under the broader umbrella of ‘nature conservation’. This took place at the same time the state was escalating its ordinance use domestically (township patrols, hunting insurgents/exiles) and abroad (the ‘Border War’) in its fight to secure its political viability amid Cold War maneuverings and the growing global condemnation of apartheid. The use of ordinance by non-white civilians remained heavily proscribed, but militarily was allowed.² This chapter will first trace the hunting narratives

¹Louis Liebenberg, *The Art of Tracking: The Origin of Science* (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 2016 [1990]), 102.

² It is useful to note here that ordinance (today defined as an decree or governmental law or regulation) and ordnance (today defined as military weapons, ammunition, and combat supplies) share etymological origins. <https://www.merriam-webster.com>, definition search for ‘ordinance’ and ‘ordnance’. Ordinance is derived from the Latin *ordinantem/ordinare* (*to put in order*) and emerged in the early 14th century as an “arrangement in ranks or rows” (especially in order of battle). Ordinance emerged from this around the same time as “military materials, provisions of war” and evolved to encompass the branch of the military dealing with munitions supplies. <https://www.etymonline.com/> search for ‘ordinance’ and ‘ordnance’. Thus a Game Ordinance can be thought as not just a regulation about hunting, but as a way to put in order, to rank and organize the provisions of a hunt as war; the pursuit capture and kill of a hostile, threatening, antagonistic being. The exclusionary proscriptions against black Africans in a Game Ordinance can then be thought as the writing into existence of enemies of the State against whom ordnance may be deployed. ‘Ordnance’ is not used to describe arms and ammunition in the game and nature conservation ordinances. These ordinances use words like guns, firearms, ammunition, weapons. This language marks a distinction from war and the military that enables some conceptual distance between hunting animals and hunting people. I suggest that such a conceptual distance here might also make space for other language regarding hunting, race, security and development management to exist unproblematically in ordinances and hunting institutions: the Nature Conservation Advisory Board and Transvaal professional associations designed to implement them. In South Africa, this laid the groundwork and set the precedent for the escalating rhetoric of the present day war on poaching that is intensified in the digital age with a new platform for the war of ideas (See Blood Lines chapter).

of the last half of the 20th century, both how they drew upon the late 19th and early 20th century narratives discussed in previous chapters, and how they looked to a future of that began to enfold both environmentalism and notions of militarization. It will then trace the language of race in game and nature conservation, and related ordinances through the last decades of the 20th century and how those were linked with the enclosure and security of the game farm. I trace these lines of thought in the frame of a recent study on the efforts at sustainable development in the Waterberg where active stakeholders (landowners, environmental association members, and local/regional government employees) are consulted and passive stakeholders (primarily the local black African population and farm laborers) were not part of the study.³

Together these threads of discussion attempt to ‘vary the vision’, as Liebenberg’s epigraph above states, in order to track how hunting demonstrates the dispersed yet connected discourses and practices stitched to hunting that intensified⁴ and shaped relationships between race and hunting in South Africa during these decades. This chapter pulls chapters two, three, and four together in order to show the accumulation of racial language in social categorization and perceptions of hunting narratives, rural farm development, and racialized hunting policies that further limited black access to hunting. This accumulation is not just a repetition in use, but a collection of reinforcing ideas,

³ Andrew Lyon, Philippa Hunter-Jones, Gary Warnaby. “Are we any closer to sustainable development? Listening to active stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa,” *Tourism Management* 61 (2017): 234-247. A full discussion of the study and active and passive stakeholders is below.

⁴ This intensification here is expressed becomes legible in the proliferation of assumed positionalities along racial/class/gender lines within the discourses and practices of hunting. It is located in [evidenced in, reflective of the hardening of the subordinate and marginal positions of poor, female (house labor), male (hunting field labor), black African rural farm populations.

policies, and actions that intensified⁵ under a global shift to the heavily capitalized management of nature as development. A key question that emerges is: What possibilities could a reading of the signs – a tracking – of the legal and narrative language of race through in discourses of fencing, ownership, game, ‘development’, protection, and conservation provide for historical inquiry into understandings of race more generally and as it relates to hunting and game farms in South Africa specifically? I argue that in the South African context, hunting as practice and its narration always already precludes the socio-economic success of hunting as sustainable development for local African communities precisely through the seemingly innocuous accumulation and hardening of its governing assumptions around race, class, and the private land (property) of game farms and through a particular framing of the historical subject understood as the liberal subject of history whose rights – in the case of the African, ‘native’ other – are circumscribed by race and gender under conditions of colonialism/apartheid but which, perhaps surprisingly, persist in the postapartheid/postcolonial context and understanding even if coded/named differently in the discourses of development, restitution and advancement.

Conceptual Frame⁶

⁵ Intensified here is expressed in the proliferation of assumed positionalities along racial/class/gender lines within the discourses and practices of hunting. It is the persistence of the subordinate and marginal positions of poor, female (house labor) male (hunting field labor), black African rural farm populations.

⁶ This chapter is the product of an earlier conference paper titled “The Sign of (Big) Five: Poachers, Hunters, and the Politics of Social Control”, that took its cue from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes adventure *The Sign of the Four*. It is also informed by the edited collection titled *The Sign of Three*, which comprises essays that investigate the relationship between theories of hypothesis and inductive/deductive/abductive methods. Umberto Eco and Thomas A. Sebeok eds., *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). See also J. Gerald Kennedy, review of *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, eds. Umberto Eco and Thomas A. Sebeok, *Philosophy and Literature* 10, no. 1 (1986): 122-123.

I return to Ginzburg's from my Introduction:

The hunter could have been the first "to tell a story" because only hunters knew how to read a coherent sequence of events from the silent (even imperceptible) signs left by their prey.⁷

Ginzburg frames what he calls conjectural knowledge as the extrapolation of abstract thoughts and ideas from detailed analysis of clues and signs.⁸ Where Ginzburg relates the reading of signs to the origins of *narrative* and questions of history, Louis Liebenberg connects hunting and tracking practices to the origins of science. He states that the logics of *science* can find their origins in the inductive-deductive and hypothetico-deductive reasoning that takes visible signs and connects them to invisible processes.⁹ Further, Gregoire Chamayou argues that the origins of *racism* can be traced to hunting, and in particular to the turn from the hunting of animals to the hunting of and for man in slavery: the man hunt. This is paralleled, of course, in the dehumanization of (wo)man or the negation of the human that is necessary to slavery. Chamayou argues that the manhunt has evolved into practices of surveillance, control, capture, and killing by the State, which is further developed by Foucault in his model of the Panopticon, disciplinary and biopolitical power.¹⁰ The hunting of poachers is a stark example of the complex relationships between hunting and manhunting as conceptual and practiced forms of power over people, land and animals. Chapters two, three and four have explored these theoretical connections between hunting, conservation, and protection, and how they draw authority from ecological and veterinary sciences that underpin sustainable and

⁷ Carlo Ginzburg, "Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method," in *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, eds. Umberto Eco and Thomas Albert Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 89.

⁸ Ginzburg, "Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes," 91.

⁹ Liebenberg, *The Art of Tracking*, 155.

¹⁰ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 1. See particularly Foucault's last lecture on race and biopolitics in Lecture 17 March 1976, in "Society Must be Defended" *Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976* (New York: Picador, 1997), 239-264.

community development methods, *from which* hunting as conservation practice (in the course of the second half of the 20th century and in the period after apartheid), in turn, draws *its* authority.

Enclosure is a central policy for this authority and serves to define who belongs where on the land in South Africa. The 1960s are cited as the period in which the shift to game farming/ranching began in earnest, yet little historical work attends to how this took place.¹¹ The series of laws and policies regarding land, game, and hunting converged in a post-WWII economy concerned with rural development and securing the farm.¹² The accumulation of these laws and the value attached to wildlife through hunting enabled the ensuing shift toward a proliferation of game farms. Increasing global concerns with conservation and preservation were taken up as local concerns as well. Ecological sciences supported the fledgling game farm industry as private nature reserves or part of biospheres, and ecosystem management provided the expert knowledge to justify financing the shift and preserving landscapes and animals in the face of supposedly ‘unsustainable’ farming practices by black South Africans that degraded the land.¹³ The

¹¹ Interview with Clive Walker, 5 August 2017. Interview, Game Farm Owner, 3 August 2015. Personal Communication, Ellisras Resident, August 2015 and 2017. Jane Carruthers, “‘Wilding the farm or farming the wild’? The evolution of scientific game ranching in South Africa from the 1960s to the present,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 63, no. 2 (October 2008): 160-181. While Carruthers’ carefully enumerates the expansion of the wildlife industry and points to some of the ways this was effected (fencing, Land Bank access, scientific community support) she does not pose, as I argue across this dissertation, the question of hunting as an historical problem.

¹² See Kirk Helliker, “Reproducing White Commercial Agriculture in South Africa,” Unpublished seminar paper presented at Critical Studies Seminar Series, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, (February 22, 2013).

¹³ A broader discussion of hunting as development has been had in other geographic regions of the continent. Botswana has banned trophy hunting and has been hailed as a model of preservation success for elephant and other mega fauna (Source? – See the Lyon et. al. article for its use.) Zimbabwe’s land reform efforts have stirred much debate and discussion in the fraught relationships between agriculture, hunting concessions, and community development – most notably the CAMPFIRE project (see Per Zachrisson. *Hunting for Development: People, Land and Wildlife in southern Zimbabwe* (Göteborg: Göteborg University, 2004). In Mozambique, recent historical work has investigated the genealogies of conservation policy to reinforce local community claims of authority over contested modes of conservation (Richard Mtisi, “The Portuguese Had no Elephant Policy? Contested Histories of Portuguese Conservation Policies in Mozambique, 1920–1975,” Paper presented at African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago,

general scientific thesis is that marginal land (dry with limited grazing and irrigating options) is not conducive to large-scale livestock and agricultural ventures. The economic benefits of shifting to less intensive, low input game farming and its ancillary businesses made more sense for farmers.¹⁴ Additionally, the increasing emphasis on environmentalism and sustainable development (game conservation/preservation as well as ecological protection more broadly) further shored up the economistic argument(s).¹⁵

The Lyon Study

The provocation for this chapter is the recent 2017 study on the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve referred to here as the Lyon Study named after its principal author (the coincidence of the two names, *Lyon* and *Hunter-Jones*, is tantalizing).¹⁶ The Waterberg Biosphere Reserve (WBR) is located within the Waterberg District. It

November 16-18, 2017; and Paulo José, “Conservation History, Hunting Policies and Practices in the South Western Mozambique Borderland in the 20th Century,” PhD Dissertation (University of the Witwatersrand, 2017). Kenya and Tanzania dominate the East African literature on hunting where social histories of community relations to the large open parks of Masai Mara and Serengeti make for interesting studies of post-colonial negotiations between parks and communities, as well as for the model of the British sportsman/hunter (Most notably John MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 1997 and Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 2008). The Democratic Republic of Congo has made news in the last decade as protection of the mountain gorilla’s in Virunga National Park garnered international attention through the (western academy) award winning documentary *Virunga* that valorized the efforts of rangers to protect the park and the gorillas during civil war and recurring violence along the DRC/Uganda border. *Virunga*, Netflix, directed by Orlando von Einsiedel (USA: Grain Media and Violet Films, 2014). Recently rangers at Virunga were killed by suspected militiamen along the border. “Six Virunga park rangers killed in DRC wildlife sanctuary,” *The Guardian*, April 9, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/weather/2018/apr/09/six-virunga-park-rangers-killed-in-drc-wildlife-sanctuary>. As of the writing of this dissertation the park is currently closed due to the death of another ranger and the kidnapping two tourists; Shannon Sims, “After Violence, Congo’s Virunga National Park Closes for the Year,” *The New York Times*, June 14, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/14/travel/virunga-national-park-congo-closed-kidnapping.html>.

¹⁴ Alongside trophy and recreational hunting these include live game auctions, biltong and game meat sales, eco-tourism and safari. Helliker, “Reproducing White Commercial Agriculture in South Africa.”

¹⁵ Beinart’s state of field for environmental history in South Africa is now nearly 30 years old (1990), but remains a useful accounting of the major themes of the field. William Beinart, “Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa,” *Past & Present*, no. 128 (Aug., 1990): 162-186.

¹⁶ Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?” I will use the designation ‘Lyon study’ for the remainder of the chapter. Firstly, as shorthand for expediency and readability. Secondly, the homophone of Lyon and lion sustains a linguistic connection in thought between the study and wildlife.

encompasses roughly 654,033 hectares and a population of roughly 80,000 people.¹⁷ The reserve is a conglomeration of farms and private reserves involved in either agriculture or tourism (which includes hunting, game viewing, and outdoor recreation). The aim of the biosphere reserve is to “balance 1) the need to generate economic benefits to the local community, 2) the pressures of the tourist industry and 3) the conservation of natural assets of the area.”¹⁸ It achieves this through monitoring and reporting on the abiotic (meteorological), biodiversity (flora and fauna), socio-economic (as it pertains to cultural aspects of hunting, wildlife, and community tourism), and integrated monitoring (rural systems and sustainable development).¹⁹ The high biodiversity of the Waterberg region and low population density ensures its characteristic “unspoiled wilderness and open spaces” and yet it also boasts a long history of San Rock Art that attests to the long history of Africa and the area being inhabited for hundreds of thousands of years.²⁰ Vaalwater, and the adjacent township of Leseding, is the only town within the WBR.²¹ Vaalwater is a small town situated in the central Waterberg mountains. It sustains the

¹⁷ Department of Environmental Affairs. “Waterberg Biosphere Reserve,” https://www.environment.gov.za/?q=content/projects_programmes/manand_thebiosphere_reserves/list/waterberg, accessed December 6 2017. The Lyon study places the population at closer to 100,000. Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 237. The 80,000 population number likely comes from the 2010 census.

¹⁸ Waterberg Wilderness Reserve, “Waterberg Biosphere,” <http://www.waterbergwilderness.co.za/biosphere/>, accessed December 6 2017.

¹⁹ Department of Environmental Affairs. “Waterberg Biosphere Reserve”. Monitoring and evaluating is taken up by a number of stakeholders at different levels that are part of the Lyon study assessment. These include the provincial Department of Land, Agriculture and Environment who coordinates the Provincial MAB Programme of UNESCO (international), Department of Environment and Tourism (National), the Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism (Provincial), and Local - public, private, civil society organizations. These are not immediately enumerated but include the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve Committee, Waterberg Nature Conservancy, Waterberg District Municipality. Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 238 and Department of Environmental Affairs. “Waterberg Biosphere Reserve”.

²⁰ Waterberg Wilderness Reserve, “Waterberg Biosphere”.

²¹ Lyon et al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 237.

surrounding tourism industry and the main road, the R33²², serves as the business district lined with non-descript buildings adorned with signs offering services to tourists (taxidermy, outfitting, guiding, lodging) and area residents and landowners (building materials, construction services – particularly for *lapas*, thatching, *boma*, and other safari lodge based architectural designs, landscaping, fencing, and security). On the north edge of town sits Seringa Café and Black Mamba Arts and Curios. Seringa, with its shaded *lapa*, serves as a gathering point for many of the area landowners.²³ Here I met Clive Walker, who was central to establishing the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, the Waterberg Nature Conservancy, and the Lephalala Wilderness School, as well as other contacts.²⁴ Apart from selling curios, Black Mamba also carries a small collection of locally published histories of the Waterberg that are difficult to find elsewhere. These include Liz Hunter's *Pioneers of the Waterberg*, Lex Rodgers *Vintage Waterberg*, *Timeless Waterberg*, Taylor, W., Holt-Biddle, D., & Walker, C. *The Waterberg: the natural splendours and the people* (see Imagining Waterberg chapter). It also carries works on game ranch management, conservation, and game viewing. In terms of the stakeholders that the Lyon study interviews for its report Vaalwater would have provided a key central location for these meetings. It could be argued that, particularly from the perspective of primarily white landowners and farmers, Vaalwater serves as the cultural and historical center of the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, as perhaps even the entire Waterberg.

²² The R33 runs connects the N1 highway (Pretoria to Polokwane) and Lephalale, where it passes through D'Nyala Nature Reserve. See Introduction for the importance of D'Nyala to the political maneuverings between the apartheid government and the ANC during the 1980s and 1990s.

²³ The parking lot is almost entirely full of 4x4 vehicles, most emblazoned with logos representing area lodges.

²⁴ See Imagining Waterberg chapter for a discussion of Clive Walker and the Waterberg.

The Lyon study outlines the failure of current practices in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, extrapolated to the greater Waterberg District and Limpopo Province, to effect significant positive change in local community development, where positive change is measured as increases in employment, wages, and infrastructure for black African communities in the region. The results of the study discuss tourism in the WBR as the entry point for sustainable development. Hunting is cited as the main driver of the rising contribution of tourism in the Waterberg – consumptive (hunting) and non-consumptive (safari) “tourism” (game use), hospitality, taxidermy, accommodation, etc. In so doing, however, the study cites a deeper discussion of hunting as conservation and other debates as outside the scope of its remit.²⁵ Embedded under the phrase ‘consumptive tourism’, and relegated to understanding through the ‘active stakeholders’ of landowners and business owners, hunting as a practice and a narrative is obscured in the Lyon study. This is significant not just because my interest is to stick close to hunting as a historical problem. What the previous chapters have built toward is an understanding that an example/case/instance like the Lyon study is a symptom of the accumulation of racist capital logics that govern the Waterberg, whose assumptions foreclose the very possibilities, historically, of rethinking hunting as development. The Lyon study defers deeper discussions of the constitution of hunting practices to the formation of the sustainable development practices it assesses, despite the centrality of those practices to the very industry being cited as the key to future sustainable development in the region. This chapter, through a discussion of hunting policy and narrative from the 1960s through the 1990s, explores that history. If we regard history as a practice of thought intent on holding our attention to questions of representation, and, particularly for a history of

²⁵ Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 237-238.

South Africa, a history of unequal and marginalizing representation, then my exploration here regarding the aims and goals, and the silences and gaps, and how these are constructed, of the Lyon study is centrally a historical problem.

As a study on sustainable development tourism (STD) in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve (WBR) the Lyon study utilizes critical discourse analysis (CDA) of a series of interviews with active stakeholders in the area to examine the current state of sustainable development practices in the area.²⁶ The focus of this study is concerned with tourism in biospheres, the use of CDA, and contributing to sustainable development literature. The findings presented illuminate important aspects of the current debates in the Waterberg that pertain to hunting. Hunting is a large part of WBR tourism and stakeholders in the broader industry that includes taxidermy, hospitality, accommodation, and the game capture and auction sectors are important to environmental sustainability.²⁷ The study does not define how environmental sustainability differs from sustainable development (SD), but it implies that it is about preserving the land/ecosystem/biosphere as an ecological geography while economic arguments central to sustainable development are the assumption.

This study highlights the three key areas of emphasis for sustainable development (economy, society, and environment). Its focus on interviewing only active stakeholders along the four SD themes of futurity, environment, public participation, and equity²⁸ demands a critique when the racialized ground on which these themes and publics were rendered is ignored and the stability of these categories is taken as the baseline from

²⁶ Lyon et. al., "Are we any closer to sustainable development?," 234-247.

²⁷ Lyon et. al., "Are we any closer to sustainable development?," 238.

²⁸ Lyon et. al., "Are we any closer to sustainable development?," 234. The authors acknowledge the limitations of not interviewing passive stakeholders and state that it would be useful for a broader understanding of sustainable development efforts in relation to people and communities in the area, 245.

which to embark on the ‘well documented’ need for SD. The study looks at influence, power, and saliency across stakeholders, where ‘stakeholders’ are broadly and variously defined as individuals or groups of people involved formally and informally.²⁹ Tourism stakeholders include the categories tourists, residents, entrepreneurs, government and management officials, NGOs and civil society organizations.³⁰ Here the authors note that local communities are most directly affected and there is a need to understand how these communities view their own environment but the study does not do that through an engagement with ‘passive stakeholders’. I argue that this understanding of environment needs to be thought in two senses – the natural environment of biosphere conservation, and the social/political/economic environment of community relations to power.

The framing of development in the Waterberg notes the demographics of the province with a largely unemployed and under educated 96% black African population, an economy largely made up of mining work, but with ‘tourism’ at 8% and rising.³¹ This is coupled with an itemized list of provincial challenges that according to the Lyon study parallel “the heart of the SD agenda” namely economic, land-use, infrastructure (water, waste, electricity, roads and transport), education and training, biodiversity, tourism, and regional and local government.³² “The type of tourism in the WBR revolves around the natural environment and is predominantly game viewing, hunting or outdoor recreation in the African ‘bush’.”³³ Tourism as a rising sector of the Waterberg economy (still dominated by the 2.6% white population in Limpopo) is viewed as a positive step

²⁹ Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 235.

³⁰ Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 237.

³¹ Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 237.

³² Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 237.

³³ Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 237.

forward for keeping the image of the Waterberg wilderness as a unique and untouched environment:

Waterberg's tourism model is therefore built on the restoration of the natural environment from agricultural use, and also natural areas which have been left untouched. The natural environment is unique and it is this uniqueness which was fundamental to the creation of the biosphere reserve within the WBR: the vegetation is predominantly savanna containing a high level of biological diversity including a number of species of conservation concern including wild dog, brown hyena, honey badger, and servals to name but a few. There are over two thousand plant species, four hundred bird species, and a rich diversity of butterflies, insects and reptiles in the region. The low human density ensures large areas of unspoiled wilderness and open spaces are a main characteristic of the WBR. There has been human inhabitation for hundreds of thousand years and WBR is one of the most important San Rock Art areas in South Africa.³⁴

This summary draws heavily on the presumptions of unspoiled wilderness and the importance of preserving biodiversity.³⁵ What does that mean, particularly with the 'unspoiled' including 'hundreds of thousands of years' of human habitation where art in the landscape – not the present presence of humans – is the marker of that habitation that needs to be preserved? The implied positionality of 'human inhabitation for hundreds of thousand years' as indigenous to an 'unspoiled' landscape and the simultaneous exclusion of modern black Africans demand careful historical attention for its *still* assumed nature (see discussion below and in Blood lines chapter).

Sustainable development is economically and culturally defined by the small white population of the Waterberg through its control of land and resources. For tourism, the land and resources are hunting and game viewing farms that have emerged as an experiment of reimagining land use and value in the face of perceived threats to white livelihoods from the social and economic forces of South Africa. With the changes in

³⁴ Lyon et. al., "Are we any closer to sustainable development?," 238.

³⁵ Recall the After Riders chapter and romantic notions of previous eras of unspoiled Africa in narrative. These tropes persist and will be discussed for their recurrence in late 20th century hunting literature below.

farm use – from agriculture farms into game farms – over the second half of the 20th century, the legislation shifted into a use of development language. Amid this transition explicit racial language in game and conservation ordinances were surrendered and such language was replaced with the race-neutral language of bureaucracy. The Lyon study discusses race briefly, and attends to how there remain structural and socio-economic inequalities along racial lines, but does not examine race historically or break down stakeholders and their power other than to say that white/black power divides remain and are a legacy of apartheid.³⁶ Relegating race to simply a legacy of apartheid glosses over, and is evidence of a lack of attention to and analysis of, the way capitalism has historically ordered “structural and socio-economic inequalities along racial lines” – articulated most clearly in Chamayou’s argument (based on his concern with/an analysis of hunting as philosophy and as a key mode of/metaphor for modernity) that capital has become the great hunter of modernity.³⁷ Here one might complete the tracking of Chamayou’s slave hunting, via Ian Baucom’s location of the origins of finance capital(ism) in slavery³⁸, state hunting and capture, and Foucault’s tracing of the move from disciplinary power to biopolitics and governmentality, to the Waterberg or the report on the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve (WBR), in which the potentiality of capital in the hunting industry provides the fuel/ammunition for supporting the game farm and hunting industry and its white ownership and rule, despite the language of a future-oriented ‘development’ for all, and attendant legislative shifts. Without challenging the

³⁶ Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 242

³⁷ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 151

³⁸ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 43-56. Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, Chapter 3 “Madam Death! Madam Death!” Credit, Insurance, and the Atlantic Cycle of Capital Accumulation, particularly pages 85-92 where he outlines the slave as human collateral, as the abstract value and unit of currency exchanged and insured against loss.

historical processes – including the force of capitalism’s logic, whether under apartheid or in the context of post-apartheid neoliberal economic ‘reform’ – of the making of hunting in the Waterberg today, there can be no rethinking of the challenges itemized by the Limpopo Province and parallel sustainable development goals in the Lyon study, and the “structural and socio-economic inequalities along racial lines” it notes.

The Lyon study is not without valuable effort at understanding the specific forces and actors on the ground that struggle to reshape livelihoods for farm laborers, farmers, and farm owners in the Waterberg; work that remains vitally important. For example, the Lyon study engages in critical discourse analysis (CDA) to assess active stakeholder influence on tourism in the WBR. They acknowledge that not interviewing passive stakeholders is a limitation of their study.³⁹ This reasoning takes various forms. Many black farm workers in the Waterberg are non-South Africans from neighboring countries, specifically Zimbabwe, whose precarious/illegal migrant position excludes them as the rights-bearing citizen subject of the post-apartheid state at whom efforts at sustainable development are directed, and whose participation in any such study would render them vulnerable to state capture. My work faces similar challenges. Both active and passive stakeholders in relation to hunting were particularly wary of speaking on the record to me. My encounters with these laborers mirrors the findings by the Lyon study that concerns over xenophobia and the precarious positionality of their status as contingent labor results in hesitancy to be identified publicly when speaking about working on farms in the hunting industry. White farm managers and farm owners avoid tense subjects such as poaching, labor relations, or land reform for similar reasons and are circumscribed additionally by the secrecy and anxiety that accompany these discourses and their

³⁹ Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 245.

representation. Informal conversations include hints about knowledge of individual poachers and networks of poachers. However explicit discussion of poaching, or farm labor relations – both of which would be reflective of the capitalist logic that has historically defined them – are deferred to issues deemed ‘more pressing’: ironically, conservation and preservation efforts that will bring development along in the future.

Clearly a set of direct on-the-record interviews with poachers (both black and white), farm owners, and managers about the struggles over wild life, economy, land use, conservation/preservation, and community development would provide a nuanced and important level of insight into the daily life workings of hunting farm laborers. Poachers, unfortunately however, do not wear nametags labeling themselves as poachers. This makes them difficult to find, let alone interview over a cup of coffee at the local Wimpy restaurant. Likewise, the climate around ‘farm murders’ in the Waterberg and South Africa more broadly keeps farm managers/owners leery of being known to call out poachers or communities where poachers may live, for fear of retaliation.⁴⁰ While such interviews would produce a fascinating study of social relations and struggles over the scarce resources of land and wildlife from which small farmers and farm laborers work to produce their livelihoods, this remains an impossibility for my work at this time.

What can be explored at this time is the confluence of events that have come to constitute the Waterberg as a geographic/historical/economic hunting region built on private land. As the Lyon study notes (and the previous chapters have demonstrated), in the Waterberg the land and the capital to develop it remain white owned. The labor to maintain this remains black. And, the narrative and practices of hunting continue to

⁴⁰ Not all farm murders are related to poaching. Robbery is often the motive. The remoteness of most farms and varying levels of security lead to attempts at robbery as well as the potential for a violent encounter.

reinforce this divide, precisely because what is known as hunting today in the Waterberg, and its narration are, at their core, racist. And further, when capitalized in the way that has emerged for hunting on private farms in the Waterberg, the racist origins of hunting become fused to the operational practices of hunting as development, where hunting cannot continue without communities that need to be ‘developed.’

On Narrative and Policy

I. Narrative

Part of what circumscribes the discourse of the various ‘stakeholders’ in hunting, is that the narration of hunting remains in the hands of whites.⁴¹ The Lyon study is partly framed through a Foucauldian approach and states that knowledge of tourism industry goes hand in hand with the economic power in the industry and limits what opportunities are available for others.⁴² I would also add that the Foucauldian economic power/knowledge connection cited here is supported by the historical narrative knowledge/power connection – writing the new Waterberg into existence as a conceptual biosphere/conservation gem in South and southern Africa.⁴³ In this section I will draw attention to how narratives of hunting are important to rural farm identification with the land and particularly a white hunting and farming culture – and how these narratives relate to the governing policies and procedures of hunting.⁴⁴ Hunting as a cultural history

⁴¹ See After Riders chapter on 19th and early 20th century hunting travelogues.

⁴² Lyon et. al., “Are we any closer to sustainable development?,” 240.

⁴³ Examples for the Waterberg are Walker, Rodgers, Hunter, etc. See the Imagining Waterberg chapter.

⁴⁴ Again, as I discussed above in the Implements of Destruction chapter, I am drawing on Foucault’s example of the book as an object of discourse that derives meaning from its incorporation into “a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences.” This set of interactions between texts, those that write and read them, as well as those with the economic and social power to speak and disseminate them constitute a ‘discourse’ for Foucault. It is this framing of discourse as an encounter of knowledge and power that frames my reading of the texts of and about hunting and about the Waterberg.

continues to be revived and is being called upon again in the context of the post-apartheid socio-economic world of the game farm and farm murders. The 1950s saw a flurry of republishing of hunting narratives from the turn of the 20th century.⁴⁵ Additionally, many new narratives of the mid-century drew on the tropes of civilized/savage hunting that represented black South Africans simultaneously as poachers and as poor ‘traditional’ farmers ruining the land.⁴⁶ These publications emerged amid the enactment of the 1949 Game Ordinance and increasing apartheid legislation of the 1950s and 1960s. Arne Schaefer, on his website for Africana Books in Cape Town, wrote a short piece titled “Hunter by Nature” that discusses this hunting literature. On reading Robert Ruark, a popular American author who wrote of his hunting in Kenya in the 1950s and 1960s, Schaefer states,

There is much home-spun philosophy, wisdom, humour, etiquette and just plain horse-sense in these books; I felt anybody who reads them can’t help but get a little improved by doing so.⁴⁷

Thinking with this sentiment of ‘improvement’⁴⁸, the overlap here between hunting, policing, and a narrative that links military and conservation discourses/representations cannot be overlooked. The characteristics of the hunting novel described here by

<http://www.michel-foucault.com/concepts/>. A hunting narrative can then be constituted much like a book, story, text, or anecdote in the web of interaction of discourses that determine what can be spoken of, who has the privilege to speak or be heard, who is excluded.

⁴⁵ Andre Goodrich. *Biltong Hunting*. Goodrich speaks broadly about midcentury publishing (114-123) but discusses PJ Schoeman specifically. Also see Czech’s *An Annotated Bibliography of Big Game Hunting* discussed in After Riders chapter.

⁴⁶ See Arne Schaefer’s “Hunter By Nature” summary of hunting narratives on the website for his Africana Books business, http://www.africanabooks.com/?page=shop/disp&pid=page_hunter.

⁴⁷ Schaefer, “Hunter By Nature”. Schaefer also describes Victor Pohl’s *Bushveld Adventures* as reminiscent of J. Percy Fitzpatrick’s *Jock of the Bushveld*. Schaefer comments on Pohl, describing Pohl’s hunting as a youth with his “black companion and a dog trotting at his heels”. First published in 1940, later editions of *Bushveld Adventures* include a forward by Denys Reitz, whose *Commando* (which links the skills of hunting acquired in youth with the tactics of war and the governance of the State) has become a classic read in the canon of South African War literature and Afrikaner/English cultural heritage and connections to the land. See After Riders chapter.

⁴⁸ Improvement implies progress, development, finance capital and the perfecting of nature, or control over nature.

Schaefer are taken by him, and I would argue most of the readers of these works who read them as popular histories, as the reason to read in order to be a good steward of the land, by one who belongs to the land, to protect it from those who do not. Andre Goodrich refers to this as to “educate attention.”⁴⁹ Fulfilling this narrative, especially as it relates to discourse, representation and storytelling, means transforming the sentiments expressed in these books into practice, supported and justified by laws and enforcing them, which in the Waterberg was done through the game farm.⁵⁰

The Lyon study indicates the importance of drawing these distinctions in narrative. The ‘unspoiled’ Waterberg Biosphere Reserve and the ‘long history of human settlement’ marked by the presence of extensive San rock art in the area coexist in the Lyon study as partial justification for the continued and increased management of land and tourism through hunting and wildlife. This connection between images of an ‘unspoiled’ land with representations of a particular position of non-white African indigeneity is a sinister twist in the discourses of racism in popular ‘histories’ of hunting where claims to white cultural connection to, and protection of, the land and hunting stand upon the remains of both animals and local communities.⁵¹ As a post-apartheid assessment of hunting as sustainable development that in many ways attempts to articulate concerns regarding lack of ability to incorporate passive stakeholders into

⁴⁹ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*. 158.

⁵⁰ As I discussed in my Introduction, by ‘narrative’ I mean the constellation of stories, practices and justifications used to organize both the infrastructure and institutions of hunting, but also to attune ones thoughts/minds/understanding toward a particularly cultural way of knowing hunting through the land and through encounters with animals and nature. This is similar to discourse, but with a leaning toward storytelling, toward drawing on a particular historical thread to represent hunting in a particular way. Goodrich differentiates two threads of this type of narrative when he makes his distinction between Carruthers’ white nationalism (Afrikaner and English) and Afrikaner nationalist thinking. Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 125.

⁵¹ This is the type of racism that Schaefer is promoting when he emphasizes home-spun philosophy, etiquette, and plain horse-sense.

research and the persistent racial inequality in the Waterberg, it remains a historical problem that land gets claimed as unspoiled in the same breath as claims for community development are made on behalf of the long black African habitation of the region as an undifferentiated, ahistorical reading of highly contested settlement patterns in the area over its long history as an eddy of human movement across, appropriations of and claims to the land and its resources. This points to assumption about what must remain ‘unspoiled’, which is in part the study’s underlying structuring argument of a neat teleological trajectory of hunting and development toward today’s neoliberal capital markers of progress, necessarily built on colonial exploitation of labor, slavery and manhunting that are all racist in their origins but that are not articulated. Hunting narratives normalize the positions of participants in hunting along racial lines. (see After Riders chapter) and that literature bleeds into reports such as the Lyon study. This is not only true for the vast 19th and early 20th century literature cited by Czech, but also persists into the mid-20th century literature. The interweaving of this literature with politics is the result of a dispersed yet connected transmission of accumulated and layered language of race and class that emerges time and again in hunting narratives and policy.⁵² Yet the workings of this often remain obscured. Stephen Gray, even as he maintains open-endedness for attempts to periodize Southern African literature, argues for an end to the

⁵² Writing *South African Literature* in the 1970s, Stephen Gray notes that the “flow...of language, of mode, of history and society, and of transformation” in South African literature has, “never actively disallowed the existence of the old with the new” where, “literature and politics interpenetrate uncomfortably for far longer than the term ‘apartheid’ has been in use.” Stephen Gray. *South African Literature: An Introduction* (Cape Town: David Phillips, 1979), 13. Gray uses the frame ‘South African’ to denote literature covering much of southern Africa by stating that the cartographic geography of the regions borders changed significantly over the 19th and 20th centuries and includes what is today Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. Gray, *South African Literature*, 2-3. This is interesting in relation to my discussion of poachers/labor migrant workers on the game farms and how the movement of people in this area would have been determined historically by different forces: state formation, labor migration, environmental changes, but only lately – in the post-apartheid era – by a hardening exclusionary nationalist immigration policy that has turned people into illegals and has excluded them as citizen-subjects in the new South Africa.

era of the colonial hunter/author in his chapter “The Rise and Fall of the Colonial Hunter”. While he is arguing that the conditions for existence for the colonial hunter disappeared in the early 20th century, he fails to address that the “other forms of writing” that follow in the wake of these authors also include a resurgence of the mode of the genre of hunting narratives in the mid-20th century that take recourse to the language and historical/literary modes which are of earlier travelogues.⁵³ Gray also notes that many new publishers emerged in South Africa in the 1970s that facilitated the publishing of a larger selection of local writing than had been possible with the dependence (at least from the English language perspective of Gray’s book) on publishing companies in London and New York, who then exported copies of this literature back to South Africa.⁵⁴ This would make books more affordable and, as Schaefer noted,

Most of the hunting books I read in the fifties and sixties had to have one premier quality - affordability...So it was that over the years I picked up a treasure trove of hunting books, 'Poor Man's Africana' but nowadays quite sought-after titles.⁵⁵

This ‘Poor Man’s Africana’ is a product of, and a reminiscence of, the decades of concern with the poor white problem. It links rhetorically as a way to think the ‘poor whites’ of the apartheid years, who felt under siege in many ways culturally and economically, building affinity in the practice of reading/consuming hunting narratives with the poor whites pioneering the hunting frontier - the *voortrekkers* and *bittereinders*, and the post-South African War poor defended by De Beer who relied on hunting for material as well as cultural subsistence (see *Achter die berg* chapter). The increase in hunting and safari farms in the post-apartheid, with lodges that want this ‘Poor Man’s

⁵³ Gray, *South African Literature*, 132.

⁵⁴ Gray, *South African Literature*, 5. According to Gray, these included Bateleur, Ad. Donker, David Philips, and Ravan Press.

⁵⁵ Schaefer, “Hunter By Nature”.

Africana', has likely in part driven the demand for these books.⁵⁶ They are sought in order to provide a good home-spun philosophy for hunters and safari goers, and to add another piece to the aesthetic of the hunting experience. Yet they need to be read for how, as Gray says, they interpenetrate uncomfortably with politics.⁵⁷ In the following, I am going to present examples of this and the repetition of metaphor, language and historical/literary modes, as well as their 'politicization'.

A.C. White opens *Call of the Bushveld* with a preface that states his intent for writing such a book is to instill in South Africans "a love of wild life – a desire to preserve and not wantonly kill."⁵⁸ As with others across this dissertation (Lyon, Hunter, Honest Trymore), the author's name alone is enough to make for interesting thought – keep White, with a capital 'W' as an author and a racial marker in mind through the argument below. His title alone evokes the romantic portrayal of the bushveld that is developed/elaborated in the subsequent pages of stories and anecdotes: its animals, and what the bushveld means "for those who wish to see wild life undisturbed and unspoilt" to inhabit or visit those spaces as white South Africans.⁵⁹ Positioning himself as a preservationist, though with no "particular scientific knowledge" and "not a big game hunter in the sense in which the term is generally used,"⁶⁰ White laments, though with sympathy toward the white farmers' livelihood, the need to trap lions that wander off

⁵⁶ Czech notes that many are rare and their popularity has increased value. Czech, *Annotated Bibliography*, Preface.

⁵⁷ Gray, *South African Literature*, 13.

⁵⁸ A.C. White, *Call of the Bushveld*, (Bloemfontein: A.C. White P.&P. Co., Ltd., 1958), 8. White published his own work and there were five editions in the first ten years; 1948, 1949, 1951, 1954, 1958. My copy of the fifth edition printing from 1958 was, according to the preface, propelled by the book's popularity, where "demand comes from every part of Africa, from Australia, Canada and England."

⁵⁹ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 10. Here we see the word unspoilt to describe the bushveld over 50 years ahead of the establishment of the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve and its aim to capitalize and conserve the unspoiled wilderness of the Waterberg. It harkens back to the pre-industrial hunting days of the 19th century where unspoiled meant teeming game, abundant water, and unrestricted hunting and adventure.

⁶⁰ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, Preface and 8.

reserves and attack their livestock. On setting traps and snares, he notes, “[n]atives who understand this work have a wonderful knowledge of the spot on which the lion’s foot will rests when he gingerly enters the specially prepared little tunnel.”⁶¹ This section is followed immediately by one titled “Native Poachers” that opens with, “[n]atives, are, alas! too prone to the use of this wire snare for wildebeest and other species of edible animals.”⁶² The distinction between the sporting hunt of a lion, the lamented snaring of a problem lion that “must be exterminated like a rat in the corn bin or a mouse in the pantry,”⁶³ the “wonderful knowledge” of the ‘native,’ and the snare ‘poaching’ of edible animals by ‘natives’ for their livelihood are effortlessly and unproblematically arrayed in the course of seven pages.⁶⁴ In contrast to ‘native’ snaring, White downplays his own shooting as “of necessity and for the pot” in his Preface.⁶⁵ White’s narrative, first published in 1948, echoes the political debates and decisions that took place around the 1945 Game Commission and 1949 Game Ordinance that have their roots in the earliest hunting laws of the Transvaal.⁶⁶ Indeed, White writes a full section on the “Game Laws of the Transvaal” where he laments the 1949 Game Ordinance as an ‘Owner’s Charter’ (implying only landowners really benefit from the laws), notes how the debates over the possibility of owning game center on the expensive fencing that would be required and

⁶¹ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 24.

⁶² White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 25.

⁶³ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 23.

⁶⁴ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 20-27. “Farmers, Lions and Trapping” on pages 20-24 and “Native Poachers” on pages 25-27.

⁶⁵ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 8. Subsequent stories and anecdotes in the book relate this shooting for the pot as part of life on the veld, with touches of humor, danger, and romance.

⁶⁶ See Implements of Destruction chapter. Following John Mowitt, I employ echo here not as a clear repetition, but a foundational distortion in which the passage of time, the historical delay, brings about a decay (difference/distortion), and, I would add, in the case of hunting narratives distortion also brings/enables an infusion, an accumulation of ideas and layering of types and tropes in the practices of hunting. John Mowitt. *Sounds*, 27. Reading the title of White’s work again - *The Call of the Bushveld* – the call is precisely the echo that draws attention, perks the ear, and attunes it toward the bushveld and the hunt. It evokes a search, a hunt, for the source of the call. This is call the cultural drive and aesthetic fashioning of the hunt and the hunting farm that I discuss in the Blood Lines chapter below.

the difficulty of defining ownership when the legal status of game remained *res nullius*, and discusses the hygienic concerns surrounding the hunting and production of biltong for the market.⁶⁷

Alongside this, in the Preface and his “Call of the Bushveld” opening section,⁶⁸ White already indicated that preservation, tourism, and a particular encounter with pristine nature and wild life was central to an understanding of what life in the *bushveld* is all about. Chiding the Transvaal Province for its lack of oversight of biltong hunting and the prospects of mass slaughter of game, White alleges,

If it is the considered policy of the Transvaal Provincial Council that wildebeest and zebra should be turned into food for the people, surely elementary principles of economics demand that it should be done under some system that will give the maximum return for the loss of the magnificent and stately animals which are fast disappearing from the Transvaal lowveld.⁶⁹

Coupled with the examples from White above regarding ‘native’ knowledge and hunting/poaching practices, he here is, perhaps unwittingly, bringing together multiple threads of policy and practice within the genre of a hunting narrative that clearly draws on the writings of late 19th century hunters.⁷⁰ His organization of the anecdotes seems

⁶⁷ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 191-199. I am citing from the 1958 edition, where White notes that in previous editions he summarized the 1949 Game Ordinance, but here he wants to point out the numerous amendments and continued lack of consensus around game laws that, for his pro-preservation disposition, is unsatisfactory.

⁶⁸ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 9-10.

⁶⁹ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 197. By ‘food for the people’ White is referring to efforts to establish a larger game meat and biltong market in South Africa that would be primarily marketed to white South Africans (this is different from the discussion in the 1945 Game Commission’s concern poaching alongside providing food for ‘natives’ and ‘feeding labourers’, see *Implements of Destruction* chapter above). This also resonates with the lingering effects of a rural poor white problem that structured debates over land, hunting and farming in the first part of the 20th century (reference to chapter)? White owned two farms: Sandringham and Avoca, outside Acornhoek in the Lowveld are in the Eastern Transvaal. While his farms lay outside the geography of the Waterberg and the Highveld region, his book as a popular and widely distributed narrative in South Africa on the relationship between hunting, farms, and policy in the 1940s-50s in the Transvaal more broadly, is central to understanding the intersections and contestations here.

⁷⁰ Recall here the discussion of the ‘after rider’ from Arkwright’s journal, as well as Jim’s knowledge and position as a driver from *Jock of the Bushveld* in *After Riders* chapter. Also recall the efforts of the early 20th century to secure the viability of white rural farmers - entangled also with the lingering effects of a rural poor white problem that structured debates over land, hunting and farming in the first part of the 20th

haphazard, with game law and “Native Life in the Bushveld”⁷¹ interspersed between commentary on the wide variety of antelope, carnivores, and birds to be found in the bushveld, dotted here and there with a note on fencing⁷² or on whether big game will survive.⁷³ White is critical of both ‘native’ poachers and the Transvaal government, though his linguistic portrayal of ‘natives’ remains overtly what we would call racist now. His position in opposition to the Transvaal Province seems more about an economy of scale and the need to effectively manage such an economy of hunting, presumably under the direction of white farmers and landowners.

The section on “Native Life in the Bushveld” deserves some attention here. In this section White reiterates the familiar tropes of black South Africans as savage, commenting that, “saying something about native life” may not seem to fit with this book, but “nevertheless, the lives of natives are wild enough”. Yet he also notes that the forefathers of the squatters lived on the land well before he owned it and before game laws prohibited poaching. White even goes so far as to say that, “the native squatters have almost full control, if not actual ownership” of the farm in the nine months of the

century (see *Achter die berg* chapter) - in the Transvaal. These sentiments along with the continued evocation of a loss/destruction of wildlife echo through White’s *Call*. The connection with policy is made explicit below.

⁷¹ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 202-207.

⁷² White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 65-71. In sections titled “A Conflict of Interests” and “Other Dangers to Wild Life” White briefly mentions the debates about fencing farms for possible game ownership. One of those arguments was that game, used to navigating large areas of land, had been known to get caught and die in recently erected fencing. Of course, in subsequent decades, fencing of farms for protection of game is cited as the significant reason for the increase in game numbers on private farms and lauded by many preservationists. Carruthers, “Wilding the Farm,” 171.

⁷³ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 90-101. In the section “Will Big Game Survive?” White cites the 1945 Game Commission (pg. 93) and the 1940s debates about the science behind the transmission of disease between livestock and game. White cites a series of articles from *The Field* in 1946 to argue for the ending of the ‘slaughter’ to preserve animals. Yet it is important to note that, even under the game eradication efforts to rid regions of southern Africa from tsetse fly, efforts that employed a number of black Africans to hunt and kill animals, the profiteering methods by ‘underpaid natives’ were lamented for the loss of game not up for eradication. While this would have been considered poaching and was likely prosecuted at times, what White is focused on is the destruction of game as a call for conservation. (White cites a full article by R.S. Audas titled “The War on Africa’s Game”, *The Field* (October 10, 1946): 100-101.

year when those few people like him who own big game farms are not living there.⁷⁴

Squatting, labor tenancy, and sharecropping were common labor relationships between white farm owners and black farm laborers and are an indication of the incomplete integration into capitalism and the modern economy, both of (some) white farmers and of the local African population; in the first part of the 20th century, this was articulated as a (rural) ‘poor white’ problem and structured debates over land, hunting and farming (see *Achter die berg* chapter). Absentee landowners provided the space for black farm laborers to manage and control farmland, if not own the land, and make their living. Most notable in the historical literature is the story of Kas Maine as a successful black African sharecropper.⁷⁵ Charles van Onselen details how these owner/laborer relations were indicative of sharp racial divides but in fact produced a rather close working relationship that in some cases led to mutual production and interaction.⁷⁶ White however, was concerned with protection of wildlife and deemed the black South African methods of hunting, such as snaring and trapping, cruel. Yet, despite black African laborers being perceived as *de facto* owners through their working of the land, and at times even as successful, as van Onselen argues, their inferiority and cruelty must be due, in White’s eyes, to “their long association with the wild animals”⁷⁷ and he perceived their farming practices to be degrading the land to the point at which indigenous flora and fauna would soon be gone.⁷⁸ In another vacillation however, White also saw how black Africans might

⁷⁴ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 202.

⁷⁵ Charles van Onselen, *The Seed is Mine*.

⁷⁶ Charles van Onselen, “Race and Class in the South African Countryside: Cultural Osmosis and Social Relations in the Sharecropping Economy of the South Western Transvaal, 1900-1950,” *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (February 1990): 99-123.

⁷⁷ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 203.

⁷⁸ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 204. This is a shift from the type of ‘cultural osmosis’ of early hunting communities such as Schoemansdal where black African proximity to animals and the hunting frontiers was an integral part of the success of the hunting economy. See *Achter die berg* chapter.

also view ‘white folk’ with contempt for their lack of knowledge of the bushveld.⁷⁹ White writes about being in the veld with a ‘native boy’ and being hungry and thirsty:

The boy must have thought my lack of knowledge calamitous and catalogued me as he had done hundreds of others; his impression must have been that we were all very useless and helpless people...In a case of dire need in the bush, the native is therefore, justified in feeling that after all, he is the superior being.⁸⁰

The acknowledgement of perceived difference, and of being viewed himself as different by black South Africans, does not here become a resolution of possible equality of human beings, but is argued as a difference in nature. Or, perhaps more precisely, a difference in living in proximity to nature, where black South Africans dwell in nature and whites reside in, or nearby nature. Residing here is both a physical and conceptual distance from nature that facilitates a more managerial engagement with land and nature for preservation and/or profit through the influx of capital.

This conceptual distance – where a difference in knowledge of the *bushveld* is explained as a natural difference of race and connection to the land, or conversely distance from, dis-connection from, absence from, removal from – is constructed discursively (‘dire need’) and by implication as a closeness to ‘the bush,’ the wild(erness). ‘Need’ is part of the discursive work of hunting narratives such as White’s and returns us to Goodrich’s argument about how narrative educates one’s attention. I quote him at length:

⁷⁹ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 205-207.

⁸⁰ White, *Call of the Bushveld*, 205. This ‘cataloguing’ done by the ‘boy’ is the subject of much of the resistance literature in the historiography, aimed at uncovering the resistance that caused the fear/anticipation of the counter-hegemonic discourse that White alludes to in this quote, most notably James C. Scott’s *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) and his *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). This also extends into subaltern studies and the postcolonial through Spivak’s can the subaltern speak, Rosalind C. Morris and Gayatri C. Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

Understanding that hunters' narratives educate attention and retrospection in hunting nature and in the everyday world, corroborates my earlier argument that we cannot think of hunters' narrative acts in Ingold's (2000:57) terms as part of dwelling. To do so would be to forget that hunters *play* at inhabiting land; that the public narratives informing symbolic labor operate beyond the boundaries of hunting nature; that hunters employ ontological narrative to bring their experience of hunting nature into line with their expectations; and that their expectations are generated by fictions (public narratives) authored in the everyday world.⁸¹

Goodrich's argument centers on Afrikaner biltong hunters in the post-apartheid and those who travel from urban areas such as Gauteng to 'play' at hunting. They do not dwell in the land but temporarily reside there and participate in the practices of the hunt that are catered to them through the farm and the lodge. The hunters project and draw on their reading of 'poor man's Africana' into their expectations for the hunt. The black African laborers of the hunt dwell on the farm, but also in the aesthetic of the hunt as those of nature, living with nature. To read White as a call *to* the bushveld through Goodrich is to read his figuring of white farm owners and black farm workers as part of the expected positionalities of bodies within the practice of the hunt and the operations of the farm.

I read conceptual distance (also to be thought as difference) as both a distance in the knowledge of the *bushveld* as well as a perceived natural difference of race (a distance between races). The connection to, or distance from the land (absentee landlords, "they travel from urban areas such as Gauteng to 'play' at hunting," they "reside" rather than dwell) adds another layer to this. The distant Waterberg (*achter die berg*) as the space of exception - historically a place of hunting as well as of the hunting farm in the post-apartheid allows for thinking distance/difference differently. The Waterberg and hunting are interstitial spaces, "eddies" in which political difference and racial difference (the distance that needs to be preserved and policed through ordinances) are set aside,

⁸¹ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 158. Emphasis in original.

even if temporarily, incompletely or incompletely. The difficulty of enforcing the early game laws, the mutual dependence of early white hunters and their black auxiliaries, de Beer's poor whites and their distance/difference from the urban whites and landowners, the porous border and exiles, and also the *bosberaad* (a space away from the city, from the usual site/locus of politics); hunting/the hunt as an ideal/mythical space moves across all of these in the Waterberg. Whites become the "temporary sojourners" (the way Verwoerd defined the African presence in urban areas) with their absentee landowners a precariousness, unbelonging. "Ownership" of the land is contested and thus has to be established/claimed through ordinances (law; which also artificially render Africans as non-occupiers, 'squatters' and 'tenants' in order to deny their claims to the land) and knowledge (conceptual)-ownership of the land has to be established/claimed through hunting narratives and by way of ordinance, not necessarily through occupation. Hunting and the Waterberg open a space to show how the very constitution of distance enables a politics that can straddle different kinds of politics, with different kinds of governmentality – the exercise of pastoral power becomes necessary because of the constitution of distance as a defining feature.

Goodrich's comments on the cultural importance of narrative and storytelling reach back to discuss mid-20th century hunting narratives such as P.J. Schoeman's, a contemporary of White's.⁸² Schoeman published a large collection of hunting narratives in Afrikaans from the 1930s through the 1980s and some were translated to English. He wrote also for young children with the aim that his books be read in schools as

⁸² Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 114.

educational texts.⁸³ His subject matter goes back even further to cite the *voortrekkers* of the mid-1800s and the *bittereinders* of the South African War as cultural heritage to lay claim to a connection to the land.⁸⁴ Goodrich demonstrates how Schoeman's work can be read as "nationalist appropriated hunting nature" geared toward Afrikaners in the 1960s, most of whom no longer actually lived on farms in the rural areas.⁸⁵ According to Goodrich, and in a similar vein to Gray's argument about the interpenetration of narrative and politics, "[t]he juxtaposition of his literary and official work [Schoeman's writings and his official role in nature conservation] shows how his project of humanizing natives in Afrikaners' eyes, served his inhuman segregationist ideals."⁸⁶ Goodrich argues that Schoeman's work both strengthens masculine nostalgia for the rural and the land, and that it clears the land of the 'native' Other.⁸⁷ For Goodrich's biltong hunters in the post-apartheid, "[t]his role play takes the form of a narratively informed attentiveness" where "cultural heritage becomes naturally authorized."⁸⁸

What Goodrich gestures to here is the interesting overlap and simultaneous break between Afrikaans and English hunting narratives (Gray also notes similar breaks in literature circles in the 1970s between English writers in exile, English writers in South

⁸³ Recall that *Jock of the Bushveld* was written 'for the little people' as a way to teach the next generation through stories about the world. See After Riders chapter.

⁸⁴ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 119. Goodrich cites Kobus Du Pisani's work on Afrikaner masculinities and the cultural importance of these figures for historical claims to power and land. See Kobus Du Pisani, "Hegemonic Masculinity in Afrikaner Nationalist Mobilization, 1934-1938," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. S. Dudink, K. Hageman and J. Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 157-176; and his "Puritanism Transformed: Afrikaner Masculinities in the Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Period," in *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, ed. R. Morrell (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001), 157-175.

⁸⁵ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 120-121.

⁸⁶ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 123. Schoeman served as head game curator for South West Africa from 1950-1955.

⁸⁷ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 123.

⁸⁸ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 115.

Africa, and Afrikaans writers⁸⁹). Both play on the civilized/savage racial dichotomy, but the Afrikaner nationalist masculinity that Goodrich points to is separate from the English ‘sport’ hunting in which English viewed Boers as unsportsmanlike and Boers felt the English sport was wasteful and an elite metropolitan practice.⁹⁰ This British/Boer distinction is a contested terrain of ‘sport’, race, ethnicity, and culture that has particularly class dimensions that are often bifurcated along rural/urban and landowner/non-landowner lines. Yet at the same time, there is a common cause between English and Afrikaners to be found in game preservation. Goodrich, citing Jane Carruthers, states,

nature conservation was seen by the electorate as an extra-political matter of common cause, the deployment of myth also engendered a renewed patriotism and sense of cohesion among white South Africans (Carruthers 1994:279)⁹¹

I want to draw attention to the Carruthers text Goodrich cites to include and highlight a piece that Goodrich left out. Carruthers’ words are as follows,

The common public perception that nature protection falls outside the national political arena makes the national park common cause between English and Afrikaans-speakers and thus a locus where fraternal relationships, more difficult on matters of hard politics, can blossom, a view shared by the [National Parks] Board.⁹²

As a locus for the fraternal relationships to deal with hard politics, nature and its narration (the myth of Kruger in Carruthers’ case, through hunting for myself and Goodrich) becomes central to understanding the politics of the rural game farms and I would argue the persistent racial – not ethnic – divides that mark them.⁹³ Despite

⁸⁹ Gray, *South African Literature*, 14.

⁹⁰ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 115.

⁹¹ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 118.

⁹² Jane Carruthers, “Dissecting the Myth: Paul Kruger and the Kruger National Park,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, no. 2 (June 1994): 279.

⁹³ Regarding Kruger and the park that bears his name, it is clear that cohesion between English and Afrikaans speakers, at least in the academic realm, is not unanimous. Carruthers’ piece here is heavily

different opinions regarding sport versus biltong hunting outlined above, there is a sense of a consolidation of whiteness that occurs when speaking about the need for white control over hunting, the land, and its resources. These moments make large chronological jumps, but echo as non-localizable connections⁹⁴; between Carruthers' argument about white common cause in the early 20th century and the wake of the South African War, through to White and Schoeman's mid-century white cultural solidarity and figuring of the 'native' as other through inferior hunting practices, to the Lyon study which concludes that racial inequalities remain where hunting is central, despite policy changes and sustainable development designed to change this. As an example, a referendum in 1990 by the Transvaal Agricultural Union, a group of 11,895 farmers were asked to vote on the question "Are you in favor of farmland being preserved for white ownership?" and 94.52% responded 'yes'.⁹⁵ While this response encompassed agricultural and hunting/game/safari farms, it is a stark number that reflects a profound conceptual distance which is the product of colonialism, racism, liberalism, and in part the long history of racialized farming and hunting I have been outlining across this dissertation.

critiqued by Hennie Grobler, to which Carruthers replies. See Hennie Grobler, "Dissecting the Kruger Myth with Blunt Instruments: A Rebuttal of Jane Carruthers's View," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 3 (Sep., 1996): 455-472 and Jane Carruthers, "Defending Kruger's Honour? A Reply to Professor Hennie Grobler," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 3 (Sep., 1996): 473-480. The three articles that form the exchange between Carruthers and Grobler are tied up in an evidentiary argument around the 'truth' of what Kruger's beliefs about game preservation were. More interesting to the debate is the role of Kruger and others in navigating hunting legislation, reserves, and game protection within the broader political context that Carruthers and Grobler both point to. In particular, the few mentions of Africans in relation to large commercial hunts, private farms, and hunting/poaching are worth pursuing further in relation to the white farmer concerns around game and cattle and livelihoods.

⁹⁴ Mowitt, *Sounds*, 27. Here Mowitt is citing Deleuze to argue that there are resonances across time that the echo can point to as signaling the work of contextualization (26), of making the connections across a discourse that Foucault cites as central to giving meaning to texts.

⁹⁵ Lauren Segal, "A Brutal Harvest: The Roots and Legitimation of Violence on Farms in South Africa," Paper published for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (Black Sash, 1991), <http://www.csvr.org.za/wits/papers/papfarms.htm>.

A look at the mid-century literature on hunting gives a sense of how this sentiment came about. In his *Road to Waterberg*,⁹⁶ Eugene Marais waxes eloquent over the Waterberg as a land “synonymous with a lotus land of fertility, literally overflowing with milk and honey...the last great stronghold of big game in the northern Transvaal,”⁹⁷ where,

[p]erhaps it is true, too, that here man had to procure his bread by the sweat of his brow. He had to work in order to live, but his work was so uncommonly like play that, not without reason, the district was named “Luilekkerland”. A strong horse and a good rifle were the prime necessities of life and many a fine farm was swapped for one of these.⁹⁸

Marais connects the promise of this region and its hunting and farming by making connections to the *voortrekkers* and the old Waterberg hunters who knew the area and the animals. He laments the droughts and over hunting that reduced the “once famous hunting ground”.⁹⁹ Even in 1914 Marais recognized that, due to the loss of consistent water and subsequent changing of grass types in the veld, the region was becoming less valuable as a livestock area.¹⁰⁰ These comments come from his essay entitled “Notes on Some Effects of Extreme Drought in Waterberg,” which is the second essay in the collection.¹⁰¹ The opening essay, “Road to Waterberg” is where Marais relates his childhood in Pretoria during which he heard stories of the Waterberg, “[f]rom that

⁹⁶ Eugene Marais, *The Road to Waterberg and other essays* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1972). This is a collection of Marais’ essays written, and some published, at various points across the first half of the 20th century. See a discussion of this text in the Waterberg section of the After Riders chapter. Marais, who primarily wrote in Afrikaans, is noted also for his writings on animals - see the English translations *The Soul of the Ape*, *The Soul of the White Ant* and *My Friends the Baboons*. He was a journalist who at one time owned the Afrikaans newspaper *Land en Volk*. For a brief summary on Marais’ life that is sympathetic to the lack of publishing of Marais’ work, see Conrad Reitz, “The Tragic Genius of Eugene Marais,” *The Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* II, no. I (Fall 1980): 20-33.

⁹⁷ Marais, *The Road to Waterberg*, 18.

⁹⁸ Marais, *The Road to Waterberg*, 18-19.

⁹⁹ Marais, *The Road to Waterberg*, 20-22. Here Marais specifically describes the drought effects on the Palala river

¹⁰⁰ Marais, *The Road to Waterberg*, 26.

¹⁰¹ Marais, *The Road to Waterberg*, 16-33. At the end of the essay it cites this as being published in *The Agricultural Journal of the Union of South Africa*, Vol. VII, 1914 (Marais, 33).

wonderland, the hunters' wagons used to come to Pretoria to unload their ivory and skins at the trading stores."¹⁰² As a child, learning from the stories that filtered from this wonderland, he recounts that,

[t]here were three boys from Waterberg in the village school and the influence of their stories abides in my mind to this day...[w]e heard from them of fortified farmhouses; of grim fighting throughout the dark hours of the night and the retreat of the impi at break of day; of dead Kaffirs smothered in blood, with their shields under them, lying before the kitchen door and at the gate of the cattle kraals... Waterberg had thus always been associated with all the wonders of unpeopled veld, and to us who were born and grew up on the outskirts of the wilderness it represented the ideal theatre of manly adventure, of great endeavours and the possibility of princely wealth.¹⁰³

The underlying (discursive and real) violence of this juxtaposition of the 'unpeopled veld' with the 'dead Kaffirs' is a particularly egregious example of conceptual difference where I guess 'Kaffirs' are not 'people.' When Marais finally first visits the Waterberg and summits the barrier hills of the first plateau of mountains west of Nylstroom, these boyhood memories flood back to him and he cannot but look to the starlit sky, repeatedly quote the biblical phrase "When I consider Thy heavens..." three different times, and then reside in the "sense of peaceful exaltation which had obliterated all the troubles and fears and sordid hopes that constitute the civilized life."¹⁰⁴ Such sentiment, republished as a collection in 1972, does specific literary work in framing hunting, history, and the Waterberg. Placing these essays side by side to open the collection foregrounds the nostalgia for the past hunter/trekker life and does so 'playing' at work (think Goodrich above). It reiterates the heavenly space of the 'unpeopled' veld, but does so in the same breath as acknowledging the presence of black Africans on the veld. Yet, significantly,

¹⁰² Marais, *The Road to Waterberg*, 9.

¹⁰³ Marais, *The Road to Waterberg*, 9-10.

¹⁰⁴ Marais, *The Road to Waterberg*, 12-14. The essay "Road to Waterberg" is not dated, but presumably the recollections are also from the first decades of the 1900s, considering "Notes on Some Effects of Extreme Drought in Waterberg" was published in 1914.

Marais recalls this ‘Kaffir’ presence as a danger to the existence of the farm as part of his early education of about the Waterberg through storytelling (and anticipates the post-apartheid specter of farm attacks, see Blood Lines chapter). That a text that names this fear is reprinted in 1972 is not without consequence and will be discussed in the Policy section below. But first it is important to understand that Marais’ collection of essays was not unique at the time of its publishing.

A significant number of hunting narratives were published from the 1940s through the 1970s. Notably, many of these books increasingly combine hunting stories with a call for preservation and conservation and White was an early, if partial or fragmentary iteration of this. Hunting narratives become an effort to preserve the hunt narratively and experientially as a practice of white heritage that might otherwise become as extinct as the quagga.¹⁰⁵ Alongside White and Schoeman, discussed above, Victor Pohl’s *Bushveld Adventures* (first published 1940)¹⁰⁶ is likened to a mid-century revisiting of *Jock of the Bushveld* (1907) by Schafer. Connecting the threads of hunting, politics and conservation in one brief page, Deneys Reitz’s Foreward to *Bushveld Adventures* states,

I can testify to the accuracy of his [Pohl’s] portrayals. His book, written with such simplicity and such obvious sincerity, will, I hope, go far to drive home the lesson that the unnecessary slaughter of the beautiful and wonderful fauna of the world is a crime against posterity.

¹⁰⁵ The quagga was a type of antelope hunted to extinction in the 19th century served for many years as the sign what would come if protection practices were not implemented. Today the quagga has been replaced by the rhino and the elephant as the poster animals for protection efforts in southern Africa.

¹⁰⁶ Victor Pohl, *Bushveld Adventures* (Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1970 [1940]). There were twelve impression made of this book between 1940 and 1964. A ‘First edition’ was then published in 1964 and new additions again in 1966, 1967, and two in 1970. Again, I believe ‘edition’ here may also be another printing, perhaps not new content, particularly in the case of 1970.

These vivid accounts of animals in their natural setting by a man who loves the bush and its inhabitants bring home more than ever the tragedy of the ages wherein mankind has ruthlessly tried to exterminate all animal life.¹⁰⁷

Not only is Reitz testifying to a call for protection of game via Pohl's tracing of his hunting only for the pot alongside transport riding in the bushveld, he is also testifying to a distinct division along racial lines that at once acknowledges black African humanity but places it in an inferior position to the civilized world of 1940s white South Africa. Pohl likewise claims authority based on his personal experience of this encounter as a white man in the bushveld.

If there is one thing that my contact with primitive peoples has taught me it is the fact that honesty, chivalry, morality, and bravery can be found where education and so many of the vain strivings of the civilized world are unknown; and since in our wanderings away from the beaten track Eric and I have had ample opportunity of studying the habits of little-known people, I feel I have every justification for making such a statement.¹⁰⁸

Pohl's comment on the 'civilized world' implies the savage other of rural black South Africa, even if, here, the 'civilized' is qualified by its vanity, and by a listing of characteristics he deems markers of a decent *human* being. His use of the phrase 'little known people' is yet another example of distance/difference, produced here by absence (a lack) of knowledge. Clearly Pohl is not aware of the paternalism that resides in his statement, but what is of more interest to me is the subtle connection between the sciences and hunting, and knowledge production, which is established in the phrase 'studied the habits of little-known people'. This anthropological language echoes the

¹⁰⁷ Pohl, *Bushveld Adventures*, Foreword. Recall the discussion of Reitz's book *Commando* from After Riders chapter and Reitz's training in hunting and war alongside his political connections. It is on these grounds that he can testify to accuracy.

¹⁰⁸ Pohl, *Bushveld Adventures*, 17. His book then traces the relationship with Mosilikaas on winter hunts in his "happy hunting grounds" (20) in the bushveld where Pohl reinforces this double positionality; Pohl is certainly drawing on earlier hunting narratives to frame his writing within the genre and explicitly cites Rider Haggard (29) when discussing the regions of the Northern Transvaal and lowveld where he hunted and trekked.

biological sciences language used to describe studying the habits of game animals¹⁰⁹ to better prepare for a hunt, habits ascertained by observing animals in their haunts – habitat, natural surroundings, diet, sleep patterns, sexual practices/cycles, movement patterns, etc.¹¹⁰ This language is repeated in TV Bulpin’s *Lost Trails of the Transvaal* (first published 1956).¹¹¹ Like Pohl, Bulpin gives an account of hunting in the *bushveld* but with a much more explicit nationalist historical bent. He plays on the nostalgia for the era of the ‘Golden Republic’ – the late 1800s and early 1900s – when the stories of hunters and others seeking adventure and profit in the further reaches of the Transvaal comingled with the prospecting for actual gold on the Rand, in the Barberton area, and elsewhere across the province. To get a sense of his rendering of history, it is important to look at his description Mzilikaze¹¹² as a key figure who was at one time one of the “henchmen of a [the] black Caesar”, referring to Shaka and the *Mfecane/difaqane*.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ A ‘discipline’ established by Marais in his study of ants (termites) and baboons. Leon Rousseau, *The Dark Stream: The Story of Eugène Marais*, (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1982), 226-230.

¹¹⁰ ‘Observing’ includes stalking, glassing (use of binoculars), beating (sending a group of men into the bush to drive animals in the direction of others posted in a particular area; beaters were often black Africans), sitting and waiting, baiting, tracking, and hunting with dogs. The methods for acquiring this knowledge are laid out in a section called “Hunting Methods” in Tim Ivins ed., *A Hunter’s Handbook* (Durban: PenPrint Ltd., 1988), 39-41. I am working from a second edition copy, which was reprinted several times, at least in 1992, 1993, 2001, and 2003, from indications from various booksellers. The first edition was published in 1980 and reprinted in 1981. From my conversations with hunters and land owners it seems widely read in South Africa as a compact field guide. The Natal Hunters & Game Conservation Association compiled the handbook. Ivins has a Recommended Book list on page 108 that includes Selected Readings that span the 19th century (Thomas Baines and W.C. Baldwin), the early 20th century (FitzPatrick’s *Jock of the Bushveld* and Robert Ruark, whom Arne Schaefer waxed eloquently about above) and mid-century works of game rangers (J.A. Hunter and Harry Wolhuter). Additionally, Ivins includes *Walk through the Wilderness* by Clive Walker (Waterberg resident and founder of the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, the Waterberg Nature Conservancy, and the Lepalala Wilderness School).

¹¹¹ T.V. Bulpin, *Lost Trails of the Transvaal* (Cape Town: Stephan Phillips Ltd., 2002 [1956]). He tells a long history of the “solitary wild of the Northern Transvaal bushveld” along the Limpopo and its plains (5) and frames it as a struggle to secure the future of South Africa. The 2002 reprint coincides with Goodrich’s mention of the republishing of a number of these novels in the early 2000s in South Africa. The resurgence of interest and popularity, for Goodrich, forms part of a response to a feeling of cultural instability for those, primarily white South Africans, who claim hunting as a pastime or way of life.

¹¹² Recall from the Waterberg discussion in the After Riders above that Mzilikazi is reportedly responsible for the empty land of the Waterberg that was settled by white farmers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

¹¹³ Bulpin, *Lost Trails*, 38.

Black imperialism is invoked here, perhaps as a way to deflect from white colonialism/imperialism/conquest and is an articulation of race/racism central to the historiography on the Mfecane. Bulpin proceeds to render black Africa black imperialist way while telling the history of hunting in relation to the great mythical moments of white history: white men of the Transvaal *voortrekking* and of the South African War past.¹¹⁴ Geoffrey Haresnape's *The Great Hunters* (1974) also follows this historical arc through hunting and connects it to game preservation in the form of popular history.¹¹⁵ Haresnape collected excerpts from notable big game hunters of the 19th century framed by an introduction titled "From Killing to Conservation." His introduction traces the disappearance of game that extended to the "very shores of Table Bay" when Jan van Riebeeck arrived in 1652. He cites excessive hunting by the notable big game hunters such as Cornwallis Harris, Cumming, and Selous, through to the early 20th century efforts at game protection and the establishment Kruger National Park and other reserves.¹¹⁶ He praises these and other hunting narratives for "offering valuable contemporary portraits of Voortrekker hunting parties...and of the great African chiefs."¹¹⁷ He then also cites Pohl's *Bushveld Adventures* 1940, including Reitz's Forward to Pohl, as essential to understanding the changing sentiments toward game protection and positions this

¹¹⁴ He has chapters on Hendrik Potgieter, Louis Tritchardt, Marthinus Pretorius, Thomas Burgers, Theophilus Shepstone, Sir Garnet Wolseley, and Paul Kruger. Bulpin, *Lost Trails*.

¹¹⁵ Geoffrey Haresnape, *The Great Hunters* (Cape Town: Purnell & Sons Ltd., 1974).

¹¹⁶ Haresnape. *The Great Hunters*, viii-xv. Another work that makes the connections Haresnape is making, though he does not mention it in his introduction, is Alan Cattrick's *Spoor of Blood* (first edition 1959). Cattrick dedicated his book to the Wildlife Protection Society of South Africa to "help the cause" of preservation and in which James Stevenson-Hamilton, first warden of the Kruger National Park and a central Transvaal political figure in game laws and preservation, is lauded as the "hero" whose name "will live long after the names of the hunters are forgotten." Alan Cattrick, *Spoor of Blood* (London: Bailey Bros. & Swinfen Limited, 1959), Preface.

¹¹⁷ Haresnape. *The Great Hunters*, ix.

literature as important to the history of that protection.¹¹⁸ In describing some of the authors whose excerpts make up his collection, Haresnape states that,

It therefore seems right that the natural successors to the pioneers of the 19th Century should be men who, in spite of their skills as hunters, have tried to understand and to conserve the animals. Victor Pohl's deep love of wild unspoiled land and its creatures caused him to turn from big game hunting to marksmanship. This love shows in his books. In his *Farewell the Little People*, he has imaginatively re-created the world of the primitive bushman hunters who lived close to the animals which gave them their livelihood. [Harry] Wolhuter has used the game-lore which must have been perfected by countless Afrikaner hunting ancestors who had left no memorial, for the protection of animals rather than for killing. Even Major [P.J.] Pretorius, who had the true hunter's death-dealing instinct, turned to capturing animals alive for zoos and making films of wild life.¹¹⁹

Written in 1974, Haresnape's framing of 'The Great Hunters' bridged the early hunting narratives of the late 19th century (with the attendant loss of game that justified early protection measures discussed in my Achter de Berg chapter) with the emerging protection efforts of the late 20th century environmentalist sentiments in South Africa by citing recent works like Pohl's and the 'authority' of Reitz. This unproblematically celebrated 'imaginatively re-creating' the positionality of black Africans as primitive. Re-creating, not creating. This type of referencing is what I refer to in Baucom's terms as 'intensifying.' The language used is the repetition that thickens over time as it builds on itself. To return to Ginzburg, the hunter may have been the first to tell a story, but I would also add here that the hunter's story remained central to telling the story of South Africa and the return to the hunt as a particularly white originary story for the history of

¹¹⁸ Haresnape. *The Great Hunters*, xi.

¹¹⁹ Haresnape. *The Great Hunters*, xiii. Major Pretorius was a Waterberg resident of Nylstroom who Haresnape notes hunted and traveled extensive through the continent, remarking that during his time in Tanganyika, "His intimate knowledge of the area and his skills as a tracker were [notably, in light of my argument about ordinance and ordnance] put to good use in World War I" (102).

the Transvaal, its ‘lost trails’.¹²⁰ Yet the work that these texts do is precisely to use the invocation of the memory of earlier, historical hunters in new ways to support social and political efforts at controlling game and people in the mid-20th century. The Waterberg as a hunting frontier was not in fact closed, but being reimagined for the present and future. The literary recollections and republications of the likes of Marais and others, and their attendant understandings/positionings of race through hunting (kaffirs; henchmen; little-known people; primitive; natives; wild animals; wilderness), were circulated alongside other literature that emphasized hunting’s possibilities on the farm, as well as the addition of renewed conservation/preservation arguments.

II. Policy

Contemporary with the discourse of history, myth, adventure, and cultural heritage in the hunting novels discussed above, there was also and explicitly economic and managerial discourse unfolding around hunting and hunting policy. In 1966 T.J. Steyn authored the brief opening article to an issue of *Flora and Fauna* titled “Game Farming and Hunting Areas” where he stated:

In the Transvaal bushveld there are large areas of “mixed” veld which for several reasons must be regarded as subeconomical for stock farming: sour, stony, infested with poisonous plants, subject to droughts, etc. *The lands around Loskop Dam and in large parts of the Waterberg Mountains are examples of these. We are convinced that mixed game farming can be the most economic form of land use in those parts* [Emphasis original].¹²¹

Citing drought in the Northern Transvaal as prompting increased discussion about the economic viability of game farming, Steyn was cautiously optimistic about the possibility

¹²⁰ Bulpin, *Lost Trails*.

¹²¹ T.J. Steyn, “Game Farming and Hunting Areas,” *Flora & Fauna*, no. 17 (1966), 2.

of farming game for meat and the market.¹²² His reservations were regarding the prohibitive costs of game fencing and marketing the hunting. Though he notes that collective fencing efforts in the Eastern Transvaal and the relative decline of hunting conditions in neighboring countries hold promise for the region as a hunting destination as hunting becomes more of a luxury and, “Luxury articles always fetch luxury prices, of course.”¹²³ He follows up this assessment by making a distinction between game farming (for a meat market) and hunting by noting:

Where the present claims of “game farming” are mainly based on “primitive” African conditions, the case of hunting areas is just the opposite. The higher a country is developed and industrialized [‘civilization’], the bigger is the demand for hunting opportunities, and the more the consumer is prepared and capable to pay for the product. *We are of the opinion, therefore, that hunting areas have an even better future than game farming in the province.* [Emphasis original]¹²⁴

A language shift was taking place here. Narratives like Pohl’s and White’s reiterated the primitive vs. civilized argument as established through hunting. Yet Steyn is simultaneously pointing to the economization (the integration and capture of marginal hunting lands) into capitalism. Steyn uses words like ‘demand’, ‘consumer’, ‘pay for the product’ to emphasize the verb ‘farming’ with regard to game (on the same land of the sharecroppers, tenants, squatters). The convergence of this language of capital with the ‘common cause’ and ‘cohesion’ of white South Africa (Carruthers above), a cohesion written into opposition with the ‘primitive’ African conditions that Pohl claims the authority to write about. My argument here is that the economization of hunting via the farm – capitalism and its relation to knowledge production, power – was intricately

¹²² Steyn, “Game Farming and Hunting Areas,” 1. Recall Marais’ assessment above about early 20th century drought conditions and the diminishing viability of livestock farms in the area. This was a different drought cycle more than fifty years later, but the conversation about land use was evolving alongside expanded ecological and veterinary science assessments of the region. Also, this game-meat market debate was a continuation of the one White cites in his *Call of the Bushveld* discussed above.

¹²³ Steyn, “Game Farming and Hunting Areas,” 2.

¹²⁴ Steyn, “Game Farming and Hunting Areas,” 3.

entangled with the conceptual distance established, maintained and reduced by naming, claiming and appropriation/exploitation hunting in narrative and practice. Wendy Brown argues that the economization of nearly everything slowly overtakes other mandates of governance and permeates the exercise of power.¹²⁵ This is Chamayou's capital as the great hunting power of modernity.¹²⁶

Hunting as a developed/development practice and as a luxury product in the Waterberg was being thought in the 1960s. It was seen as a way to capitalize on the 'primitive' African conditions and to satiate local and international demand. That this was the opening piece of the 1966 issue of *Flora and Fauna* shows the connection between hunting and conservation science more broadly (the remainder of the issue is scientific articles about animals and ecology, with the exception of Bigalke's piece on South Africa's First Game Reserve about Pongola). The late 1960s was also when Ian Player was launching Operation Rhino in the Eastern Cape and the possibility of relocating game to fenced farms for hunting and protection purposes was gaining traction.¹²⁷

The 1967 Nature Conservation Ordinance marked a consolidation of the administration of game and hunting into the broader management of nature and a subsequent shift to environmental management and development. All previous ordinances were 'Game Ordinances' and were separately, though relatedly, administered. This was an uneven shift from 'game' laws to an administration of 'nature' and

¹²⁵ Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*, (New York: Zone Books, 2015).

¹²⁶ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, 151.

¹²⁷ Harry Wels, *Securing Wilderness Landscapes in South Africa: Nick Steele, Private Wildlife Conservancies and Saving Rhinos* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2015). See Chapter 2 "The Rhino's Role in Wildlife Conservation," 41-78.

‘conservation’ that accompanied the move toward the private ownership of game. As the economic and cultural aspects of hunting coalesced under the umbrella of nature conservation, they became a way for white farmers and hunters to both make money and write a cultural heritage in a way that projected social responsibility while maintaining social separation, segregation, and historical power over hunting. The following section traces the way race continues to mark this transition through the game and nature related policies of the 1960s through the 1990s.

Private Land and Ownership of Game

Private farms in the Waterberg were demarcated in the late 1800s (see *After Riders* chapter) though they were initially ‘settled’ and supported as livestock and agriculture spaces that were seen as essential to securing the white control of the rural areas of South Africa (see *Achter die berg* chapter). With such a strong focus on these farming practices, the transformation to a significant rise in game farming in the last decades of the 20th century was never a foregone conclusion. The marriage of hunting as development with conservation/preservations efforts is an uneasy and often unstable one.

The Waterberg Biosphere Reserve (WBR) discussed above is comprised mainly of landowners who would be described as non-hunters, ‘reformed’ hunters¹²⁸, or anti-hunting conservationists. Yet wildlife populations on this land still need to be managed. Despite being large, reserve land is fenced and controlling population means either selling and removing wildlife (possibly to hunting farms), or culling. Amid and surrounding this biosphere is a conglomeration of hunting farms as well as agricultural

¹²⁸ These are former hunters who have given up shooting animals in order to operate farms and lodges aimed at preservation and safari tourism. They are the late 20th century incarnation of the ‘penitent butchers’ Carruthers discusses. See *Achter die berg* chapter.

farms where hunting often takes place.¹²⁹ The Lyon study extrapolates from the WBR to the provincial level in a way that flattens the particulars of private land that is ‘reserve’, as opposed to agricultural land where hunting happens, as well of areas specifically designated as game farms and hunting farms. This flattening is a symptom of the sustainable development umbrella that frames the Lyon study and how the study at once acknowledges hunting as central to the region’s development but states that it is outside the scope of its analysis.

As the previous chapter detailed, in 1945 the Transvaal Province initiated a Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation. With the support of the farmers, the recommendations of the commission resulted in the new 1949 Game Ordinance that revoked the status of ‘occupier’ for black South Africans while also solidifying powers and practices of social control through anti-poaching provisions. While the Game Ordinance of 1949 did not confer ownership of game on landowners, it did allow for landowners whose farms were enclosed with jackal proof fences to receive exemption from hunting restrictions on their land.¹³⁰ Effectively this put in place a sense of ‘ownership.’ There were a few amendments to this ordinance in 1950, 1952, and 1954 – these were concerned with defining ‘wild animals’ and clarifying wording around contravention penalty amounts.¹³¹ The key government commission into the economic viability of the ‘reserves’ (later the ‘Bantustans’ or ‘homelands’) into which the

¹²⁹ Goodrich makes an important distinction about hunting on hunting farms and on agricultural land that has game, where the latter is identified most often with Afrikaner biltong hunting and does specific social/cultural work in the post-apartheid (Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 109-113).

¹³⁰ Fencing is the physically real and simultaneously conceptual sign of the map on the landscape. “Maps facilitated the exercise of political power, giving conceptual hegemony even where real control might be lacking, as was the case in the Transvaal. But with the discovery of minerals in the Transvaal from the 1860s, maps emphasized economic hegemony as well.” Jane Carruthers, “Friedrich Jeppe: Mapping the Transvaal c. 1850-1899,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 4, (2003): 956.

¹³¹ Game Amendment Ordinance No. 23 1950, Game Amendment Ordinance No. 20 1952, Game Amendment Ordinance 1954.

government intended to confine the black population resulted in the 1954 Tomlinson Report, whose central policy device was the separation of farmers and non-farmers defined along racial lines. Returning to Ashforth from the Implements of Destruction chapter, recall that he states the work of the commission of inquiry was to, “reconstruct the logic of what might be called the ‘terms of reference’ within which the twentieth-century South African state formed an authoritative framework for understanding and speaking of social reality.”¹³² The Tomlinson was about finding a solution to the ‘native question’ and it dealt in part with “the steady decline in the ‘carrying capacity’ of the Reserves” as part of the political background for Apartheid slogans of the 1940s.¹³³ From a game protection standpoint and debates about who were farmers and non-farmers, the biological/biosphere overtone of reserves and ‘carrying capacities’ here cannot be overlooked and need to be kept circulating through these narrative/policy connections via hunting and the assumed knowledge about nature (wilderness, wildlife, race) that played an important role in policy making/thinking. ‘Carrying capacity’ parallels with the need to manage game/wildlife on (fenced) farms and on game conservation land (game ‘reserves’) through culling etc. Black Africans, likened to animals on a game reserve were exceeding their ‘carrying capacity’ and their population required management. Culling is both a management practice and also used to protect precarious environments, and it could be thought here as a way to describe the violent practices of forced removals of apartheid. Ashforth notes that the Afrikaner trek and empty land theories were used as part of the justification of land distribution for whites in the Transvaal.¹³⁴ In her reading

¹³² Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 4.

¹³³ Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 149.

¹³⁴ This links directly back to the hunting narratives discussed above. Ashforth cites the use of histories of Potgieter and Mzilikazi to support these claims. Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 162-163.

of Ashforth, Helena Pohlandt-McCormick notes how the racial ideology of the National Party was explicit about separation and separate development and was achieved through the role of law, policy and commission reports, as well as ‘scientific’ logic, in the way that ideology was materially, in writing, justified by the state.¹³⁵ The ‘scientific’ logic that Pohlandt-McCormick puts in quotes, can be, in relation to hunting, directly tied to the veterinary science as it relates to game preservation and management, but also to the historical sciences in its recounting as a narrative tracking (Ginzburg and Liebenberg). Hunting is connected to the politics and purpose of the Tomlinson Report, to the distinction between farmer and non-farmer, in the sense that hunting fundamentally drove, and was drawn on for, constructions of race and their articulation in practice and in policy/archives. If the archive is understood, via Foucault, not merely as a mountain of documents or a brick and stone depository, but instead also as the “law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events”¹³⁶, then through the materiality of the archive, writing is inscribed into practice with the notion of occupier as white in the 1949 game ordinance memorandum that vests authority in the physical written documents and notes of police, farmers, farm owners and whites in general, and is linked to the historical hunting narratives through the authority claimed by their authors, discussed above. Regarding the materiality of the archive, Pohlandt-McCormick states,

Ideology also needed to adapt itself to and counter new problems in material, social, and political reality as they arose. In the years after 1948, the National Party government systematically set about realizing the principles of racial

¹³⁵ Helena Pohlandt-McCormick’s essay “State and Legitimacy,” in her *“I Saw a Nightmare...” Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976*, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/pohlandt-mccormick/pmh03h.html>

¹³⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 126 and 129.

separation through the implementation of new laws and the elaboration of appropriate old ones.¹³⁷

Below I trace how this adaptation played out in legislation pertaining to hunting and the game farm that followed in the wake of the Tomlinson Report.

I pick up on the legislative making of hunting policy with the Fencing Act of 1963. While this act was not centrally about hunting, it had very subtle but significant consequences for hunting on private land because enclosure became the way to establish game as private property.¹³⁸ Much of the debate in the 1945 Commission and around the 1949 Game Ordinance regarding the possibility of game ownership centered on the prohibitive costs of ‘jackal proof,’ or game fencing. Section 12 of the Fencing Act of 1963 provided landowners with the right to get an advance from the Land and

¹³⁷ Pohlandt-McCormick, “State and Legitimacy.”

¹³⁸ Enclosure via fencing is the mechanism through which the long established (British) colonial imposition of notions of property along racial lines comes to mark the Waterberg. John Locke’s section of his *Two Treatises of Government* entitled ‘Of Property’ is important as the reference here because it has been formative in Western liberalism and found its full form and expression in the 18th and 19th century practices of land use. Locke establishes a line of causality between property, society and progress. He argues that by laboring on the land and producing something of value (agriculture, mineral resources, animal resources), a person can claim ownership over that land exclusive of others. Additionally, Locke couples this productive land value with the notion of money and its exchange value in relation to these products of the land and rights and property. People are then able to participate in a form of accumulation that can culminate in large inequalities in holdings of property. This argument becomes central to the labor theory of value through his labor theory of property, and property becomes the foundation of political society. Going further, Locke then defines the proper task of government and its regulatory power as protecting this right in property. Through this Enlightenment influenced tying of reason to industry, Locke provides the critical elements for a system of exchange that is based on commerce and property accumulation for a particular form of economy, which today we take for granted and as common sense. Another important aspect of Locke’s argument is his distinguishing between different types of knowledge: white European vs. indigenous American. According to the first part of his property argument, American Indians should have been able to make full claims to what they can produce from nature through their labor. However their application of labor itself was considered lacking in productivity and reflective of a people who do not use ‘reason’ as outlined by Locke. Their inability to be as ‘productive’ in terms of extracting value from nature and the land was turned into a justification for Europeans to take control and ownership of the land. This places value on the social hierarchy where ‘reason’ and its application in industry becomes the marker of progress and productivity and forms a large part of the foundation of colonial philosophy of relationships between white settlers and indigenous populations. Thus contemporary understandings of conservation, wildlife and their management are explicitly tied to western liberal concepts of superior ‘reason’ and its economic and scientific application toward preserving particular human relationships to productive economic use of the land. John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003 [1689]).

Agricultural Bank, subject to the provisions of the Land Bank Act 1944, to help offset any cost, or obligatory costs, of more than R40 for boundary fencing.¹³⁹ The partial removal of a *financial* barrier enabled the erecting of more extensive *physical* barriers on the landscape. It established enclosure of game as a viable option for farmers without the immediate capital to do so. In addition, and drawing on the recent Trespass Act of 1959, the Fencing Act made it illegal to climb or crawl through fences without permission and made it illegal to damage or remove fences.¹⁴⁰ While not directly a game law, this had significant implications for enforcing poaching. A suspected poacher, even if not in possession of game as evidence of the crime, could be accused and prosecuted merely for contravening the Fencing Act. Conversely, someone accused of trespassing could also be accused of poaching if game was present in the area and poaching was a possibility/likelihood. The game fence on the farm became a physical barrier to movement of game and people, primarily black Africans, in and out of the farm and served as the marker, the evidence and the sign of potential contravention of the law. It also served as the quickly proliferating widely/easily recognized visual marker of securing and grounding white control over the game and hunting on farm and reserve land.

Then, in 1967 the Nature Conservation Ordinance replaced the Game Ordinance of 1949 and its amendments.¹⁴¹ This is the first iteration and articulation of the concept of ‘Nature Conservation’ in the legal ordinances, as opposed to the earlier language of ‘Game’ Ordinance, and is significant because it marks a discursive shift to include the more scientifically defined realm of ‘Nature’ (fishing, flora) and its conservation. This

¹³⁹ Fencing Act, No. 31 of 1963, Section 12.

¹⁴⁰ Fencing Act, No. 31 of 1963, Sections 23 and 24.

¹⁴¹ Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 17 of 1967.

paved the way for further stitching together of hunting/game/wildlife with land/economics/management practices under provincial, and ultimately national, administrative control. Significant here is that this Nature Conservation Ordinance sits amid a series of acts and ordinances passed by the apartheid government with the aim of articulating and solving the ‘Native Question.’¹⁴² It serves as part of an accumulation of thought, practices, finance capital¹⁴³ and militarized surveillance that found expression in the expansion of the powers of the State and in its discourses of governance.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, in the opening section of ‘Definitions’ for the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1967, a nature conservation officer is defined as,

- (a) a nature conservation officer appointed in terms of section 99; or
- (b) *any member of the South African Police*¹⁴⁵ [my emphasis]

When all police officers are also conservation officers, the methods of hunting and tracking overlap extensively between human and animal prey.¹⁴⁶ It is not surprising that such a clause would be restated in this Ordinance seeing as it coincides with the adoption of the Terrorism Act in the same year.¹⁴⁷ Jonathan Cohen writes that the Terrorism Act, “allowed for almost unchecked control by security forces over detainees,” where detainees could be held on nearly any charge of disrupting “law and order.”¹⁴⁸ The term ‘terrorism’ and ‘terrorist’ were terms broadly and arbitrarily used in South Africa

¹⁴² Adam Ashforth. *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 195-203. Ashforth’s analysis centers on commissions of inquiries, but argues that such commissions were central to articulating laws and policies. See my discussion of Ashforth in Implements of Destruction chapter.

¹⁴³ See the Land Bank access in the Fencing Act of 1963, also see Ian Baucom *Spectres of the Atlantic*.

¹⁴⁴ Chamayou, *Manhunts*, Chapter 8 “Police Hunts”.

¹⁴⁵ Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 17 of 1967, Definitions.

¹⁴⁶ Chamayou’s argument is central here and is expanded in the larger the larger dissertation chapter.

¹⁴⁷ Terrorism Act, No. 83 of 1967. Recall this is a rewording of the earlier game ordinance clauses that conferred policing powers on most white male South Africans to enforce the game laws – see previous chapters.

¹⁴⁸ Jonathan Cohen, “1967 Terrorism Act, No. 83 of 1967,” *South African History Online*, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/1967-terrorism-act-no-83-1967> Accessed 23 May 2017.

legislation and particularly by military and police to encompass and catch all resisters and protesters of the apartheid government. The Waterberg, being adjacent to the border with Botswana, became an area through which many black South African ANC members and other anti-apartheid people fled in response to increased police surveillance and persecution. They fled, often on foot, into exile, literally and figuratively putting them into the same space a ‘poachers’ and other illegal ‘squatters’ and black residents on those farms. A brief aside is needed here to make the connection between hunting and war.

In the post-apartheid era numerous soldier’s memoirs of the so-called Border War, South Africa’s war in Angola from the 1970s-1980s, have been published.¹⁴⁹ The hunt for ‘terrs’ (terrorists) was the language used to describe ‘contacts’ (armed engagements). In a section titled “Plaaslike Bevolking,” Thompson quotes an eighteen-year-old soldier named Ric who states

[i]t was difficult to differentiate between the civilians and the gooks, terrs or whatever we called them...[s]igns, or rather the absence of signs...told you if someone was a civilian or not.¹⁵⁰

In the face of a faceless/nameless ‘terr’, soldiers were trained to track and spot ‘terrs’ just as hunters would game, by the spoor of and signs associated with life at war on the border. Descriptions of the border region and its cut lines and fencing present a striking parallel to the game fence on the farm and the road that runs alongside it for both ease of maneuvering on the farm as well as for patrolling the border of a property looking for

¹⁴⁹ J.H. Thompson, *An Unpopular War: From afkak to bosbefok* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2006) and Sisingi Kamongo and Leon Bezuidenhout, *Shadows in the Sand: A Koevoet Tracker’s Story of an Insurgency War* (Durban: 30° South Publishers Ltd, 2011). I use these two as examples because *Unpopular War* is a compilation of memories of white South African soldiers and *Shadows in the Sand* is the story of a black African tracker and his team fighting for South African forces.

¹⁵⁰ Thompson, *An Unpopular War*, 109. These signs were marks on shoulders from carrying packs, or feet with no calluses that implied wearing boots, a sign of a ‘terr’.

signs of trespass and poaching. The soldiers recall their military training as *afkak*¹⁵¹ (intense physical and emotional pressure, particularly during training) and for some the subsequent time on the border made them *bosbefok*¹⁵² (bush crazy, or what today would be termed PTSD). Stories of the atrocities of war are juxtaposed with strong patriotic sentiments that illustrate the conflicting perceptions of enemy and ally. This is most profound in Sisingi Kamongo's accounts of his time as a tracker in which he and his team were essential to the success of the mission because they employed the very particular skills of tracking in a war situation. He translated a childhood of learning to track cattle and other animal spoor into the context of war, commenting that

[p]eople also make tracks. We knew the difference between the tracks made by a woman and those made by a man; we could differentiate between tracks made by a large woman and a small man. We could also tell the difference between the tracks made by a proud upright man and one less so. Everything by how one walks, how your foot makes contact with the earth. The tracks of an old person and those of a young one differ. We knew the difference. It was our way of living – a culture.¹⁵³

Kamongo here effortlessly translates hunting to manhunting through tracking; a varying of vision, as the Liebenberg epigraph above notes. The camaraderie of a black unit of men working with white soldiers collides with the South African government's treatment of Sisingi and his trackers – lower pay while in service and almost complete abandonment of any responsibility to them after the war.¹⁵⁴ While Sisingi and his colleagues struggled to survive after the war, many of the white soldiers returned to farms and put their military skills to work, now tracking poachers and game.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Thompson, *An Unpopular War*, 30-35.

¹⁵² Thompson, *An Unpopular War*, 198-207.

¹⁵³ Kamongo, *Shadows in the Sand*, 37.

¹⁵⁴ Leon Bezuidenhout apologetically conveys this information in his introduction (Kamongo, *Shadows in the Sand*, 18-33).

¹⁵⁵ An expanded discussion of the use of trackers in the border war via texts such as Kamongo's is an important aspect of the hunting/war connections and would make a fascinating study. However, for the

In the Waterberg I spoke with one farm owner who was one of the first to erect game fencing on his farm in the 1960s and pursue hunting full time.¹⁵⁶ He led hunts for many years during the winter months in both Botswana and South Africa. He would farm in the summers. When I first arrived on his farm, he walked me through his trophy room; a large space with a high vaulted ceiling with walls, tables, and the floor adorned with dozens of hunting trophies.¹⁵⁷ After dinner we circled back to the trophy room for a drink and it was at this time that he pulled out another trophy that did not immediately stand out among the taxidermy. It was a military issued bayonet knife in a leather sheath. When I asked about its provenance he replied that he “got it off a Cuban.” When I asked if he could tell me more, he stated, “those things are over and done, no need to talk about them any more.” That he wanted to show me the knife he took off a dead ‘Cuban’ soldier during the Border War, a knife that sits among his hunting trophies, and yet did not want to go into the details is telling. The connections between war and hunting, particularly hunting dark skinned men, was both a source of pride in service of country and a source of regret, shame and a buried or censored past.

This farmer’s story is not an aberration. Many former soldiers returned to the bushveld and used (still use) their military training in private security and commando units that operate as part of farm-watches and anti-poaching patrols in the war against ‘farm attacks.’ These operate in parallel to the South African Police Service but without

purposes of this chapter I will stick close to the connections between these experiences as they relate to farms and security after the war.

¹⁵⁶ Personal conversations, Game Farm Owner, 4 August 2015.

¹⁵⁷ Along with his neighbor and friend who had introduced us, they related that in the 1950s and 60s there was not much game in the Waterberg. Farmers had hunted most of it for the pot.

the oversight.¹⁵⁸ But to understand how this military connection came to be linked/joined to the security of hunting farms, we need to return to hunting policy.

Alongside increased surveillance and policing of Africans, the 1967 Nature Conservation Ordinance reiterated a hunting law exemption clause for landowners whose property was fenced appropriately such that game “cannot escape from the area so fenced”.¹⁵⁹ While game was not officially ‘owned’ by landowners at the time, the Ordinance makes references to the lawful/unlawful sale of game and prohibitions on *owning/selling/trading* ‘exotic’ game (as opposed to other schedules of game). This in practice further cemented ownership. Under the umbrella of ‘Nature Conservation,’ the administration of the increasingly fortified private farm became a practice of managing the security of private game populations and the farmers who ‘owned’ them. Indeed the language of the 1967 Nature Conservation Ordinance was much more administrative and management heavy – regulating nature conservators, advisory boards, magisterial district level committees, certificates of appointment and research – though racially specific designations of ‘Bantu’, ‘white’, and ‘non-white’ dominated proscriptions and exemptions of the Ordinance.¹⁶⁰ An example of the increased bureaucracy is found in section 34 on “Written Permission.” Obtaining written permission from landowners to hunt and access their land was a practice mentioned in previous iterations of the game

¹⁵⁸ *Unequal Protection* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2001), 167-182. These security patrols are discussed below in the Blood Lines chapter, though recall Marais’ account above of hearing of farm attacks in the Waterberg as a child and the impression that made on his perception of the region. There is a growing literature on the militarization of conservation, though much of it centers on national parks and other state operated reserve areas. See Elizabeth Lunstrum, “Conservation Meets Militarisation in Kruger National Park: Historical Encounters and Complex Legacies,” *Conservation and Society* 13, no. 4 (2015): 356-369 and Elizabeth Lunstrum, “Green Militarization: Anti-Poaching Efforts and the Spatial Contours of Kruger National Park,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104, no. 4(2014): 816-832.

¹⁵⁹ Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 17 of 1967, Chapter 1, Section 15.

¹⁶⁰ Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 17 of 1967, Definitions. All racial definitions in the Ordinance refer back to the Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950.

ordinance, but the new Nature Conservation Ordinance outlined this in detail, requiring name, date, land/farm, residential address, number/species/sex of game to be hunted, dates, and signatures of landowner and hunters.¹⁶¹ There were forms printed for this alongside past ordinances, but having it spelled out in the ordinance itself was new. This provided an added level of administrative oversight that, coupled with the power of the archive in the form of the written word being legally binding only in the form of writing by landowners and administrators – all white – when thought across the space of the rural farmscape of the Transvaal at the time, sought to extend the reaches of control through an accounting of movements of whites (authorized) and blacks (not authorized). What this did was that it placed any non-white without papers in the position of being guilty of an offense almost just by stepping out their door in the morning. This was made all the more apparent by prohibitions in subsequent chapters of the ordinance related to fisheries and indigenous plants (thus the umbrella of Nature Conservation Ordinance) that prohibited certain acquisition, use, transport, and removal of various scheduled species by non-landowners and occupiers.¹⁶² While Nature Conservation was the title given to the ordinance, in practice the white landowner's control over his farm and its security remained the central operation of the ordinance – a 20th century version of enclosure and its relationship to the establishment of property, and the exclusion of peasants from (previously) common land, in 16th century England (see footnote 137 above).

By 1983, and in the next rewriting of the Transvaal Nature Conservation Ordinance, the racial categories 'Bantu', 'white', and 'non-white' were gone. What remained were categories of professional management: owners and occupiers (implying

¹⁶¹ Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 17 of 1967, Chapter 1, Section 34.

¹⁶² Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 17 of 1967, Chapter III - Fisheries, Chapter IV – Indigenous Plants.

non-owners and non-occupiers) governed by advisory boards and committees as well as officers, staff, nature conservators and honorary nature conservators, and the addition of professional hunters and outfitters.¹⁶³ In this ordinance, the *business* of nature conservation was emphasized in the practices and operations that this ordinance called into being. The addition of the definition of the word ‘keep’, “to keep [a]live, to keep in captivity, to exercise control over or to supervise” game was another step toward cementing ownership for landowners.¹⁶⁴ When coupled with hunting exemptions for landowners through adequate enclosure and the conferral of ‘hunting rights’ on landowners to control hunting on the land they owned, the business of hunting and the *de facto* ownership of game was enshrined in the ordinance.¹⁶⁵ Professional hunters and hunting outfitters received hunting rights from landowners in writing allowing them to operate on private land they did not own. Many of the hunters and farm owners I spoke with in the Waterberg related that they cultivated a strong network of owners, professional hunters, and outfitters who hunted on various farms in the winter months each year.¹⁶⁶ These networks make clear that the 1983 Ordinance was not a sharp chronological divide, despite it being the first time professional hunters and hunting outfitters were included in an ordinance.¹⁶⁷ This professionalization of the hunting industry marked a significant turn toward a more market driven game industry, though these networks of hunters and landowners had been in existence for quite some time (recall the need to get permission to hunt on land extends back to early 1900s, see *Achter*

¹⁶³ Transvaal Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 12 of 1983, Definitions and Chapter IV.

¹⁶⁴ Transvaal Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 12 of 1983, Definitions.

¹⁶⁵ Transvaal Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 12 of 1983, Definitions, Section 47.

¹⁶⁶ Interview, Game Farm Manager, 3 August 2015; Interview, Game Farm Manager, 3 August 2015; Interview, Professional Hunter, 4 August 2015; Interview, Hunter, 6 August 2015; Personal communication, Hunting Outfitter, 7 August, 2015.

¹⁶⁷ Transvaal Nature Conservation Ordinance, No. 12 of 1983, Section 51.

die berg chapter, and the Waterberg farmer above who hunted in Botswana and South Africa since the 1950s), establishing norms, patterns, and networks. In *A Hunter's Handbook* (1988) it was noted that while hunting was becoming more professional and more costly, particularly expensive in other African countries, the relationship between hunters and landowners was crucial to the success of a hunt in South Africa, as well as to building a community and camaraderie around hunting and its role in preserving and conserving wildlife.¹⁶⁸

In 1991, private game ownership became official for the first time. Yet ownership of game was framed through a policing of the 'poacher' and titled the Game Theft Act, 1991 (Act 105 of 1991).¹⁶⁹ This very short act solidified the definition of game ownership on private farms through certificates of sufficient enclosure approved by the Administrator of the province. According to the 2016 Endangered Wildlife Trust's report, the Game Theft Act of 1991 was the result of a growing "financially viable," "sustainable" utilization of wildlife from the 1960s through the 1980s.¹⁷⁰ The first two decades of the 21st century have seen a proliferation of game farms and the rise of a significant industry around hunting and its security through anti-poaching practices and policies (subjects of the next chapter, Blood Lines).

The chronology of legislation tracked above (1949 Game Protection Ordinance (previous Implements of Destruction chapter); 1959 Trespass Law; 1963 Fencing Act;

¹⁶⁸ Ivins, *A Hunter's Handbook*, 10, 31-32.

¹⁶⁹ Game Theft Act, Act 103 of 1991.

¹⁷⁰ Andrew Taylor, Peter Lindsey and Harriet Davies-Mostert, "An assessment of the economic, social and conservation value of the wildlife ranching industry and its potential to support the green economy in South Africa," Department of Environmental Affairs (15 January 2016), 6-7. It is important to note that the Endangered Wildlife Trust, a South African organization whose co-founder, Clive Walker, also founded the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, supported this research paper financially. Clive is a central figure in both the practice of nature conservation in the Waterberg as well as its narration – he is the author of a number of books about the Waterberg. See *Imagining Waterberg* chapter.

1967 Nature Conservation Ordinance; 1967 Terrorism Act; 1983 Nature Conservation Ordinance; 1991 Game Theft Act) outlines where the ‘intensification’ of the accumulated policies and narratives of hunting recur over the second half of the 20th century. They form part of the broader constellation of apartheid laws designed to segregate and control black South Africans in Native Reserves/homelands/Bantustans. This continues in the post-apartheid era and comes to a head in efforts to wed hunting to sustainable development practice. In terms of historical method, this becomes a problem when investigations into hunting are merely limited to practice, or as just an arena from which to extract or illuminate a new form of black African agency.¹⁷¹ Even if these studies shed light on an overlooked aspect of social history, and illuminate or try to recover the history of black African hunters – or those who have been excluded from 20th century hunting in SA – they do not question the processes and the power of state, institutional, legal, and public narratives as historical texts and discourses to constitute how and what it is we know about hunting and the limits (as the brief interlude about poachers above shows) of that knowledge to date.

Concluding Comment

To return to the provocation for this chapter – the Lyon study of the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve which queried whether ‘sustainable development’ was possible – ‘development’ discourses tend to, when it comes to sustainable development in the conservation/preservation farm/reserve areas of the Waterberg, circumscribe notions of ‘community’ through homogeneous categories of race and culture (black villagers, white farmers). Defining these communities and then linking their ‘success’ to economic

¹⁷¹ A colleague aptly reminded me when discussing this section that Africans have always had agency and have never needed white historians to tell them as much.

markers of progress and environmental development – profitable farms, securing labor, increase in wildlife numbers, marketing the hunting/safari industry – needs to be read through hunting not just because hunting is a central practice of the economy of the area in the post-apartheid, but also because hunting as a practice as well as its narration during the second half of the 20th century was central to cementing the racial difference in the space of the farm and in the rural economy.¹⁷² Thus, when the ‘problems’ facing development are itemized, it is about how to better streamline processes and production to fit people and communities into the proper economic business solution to foster appropriate profit/wildlife numbers/tourist experiences in order to count an endeavor successful. What is overlooked in this process is a critique of the foundations and conditions that made ‘development’ in the Waterberg necessary – namely a particularly colonial set of hunting practices and a modern capitalist economic system based on privatized rural land and individual ownership that is in contentious debate with the more communal/collective demands/responses required by the ecological sciences, an overcoming of apartheid legacies, and efforts at State-led racial reform. A major obstacle to these efforts is what I will call a ‘narrative’ form of governmentality, in the vein of Goodrich’s educating attention, and the internalization and normalization of ideology through particular hunting discourses. People effectively govern themselves, fitting into their roles of farm owner/manager/laborer by not looking to critique the production of their conditions of possibility. The focus of critique becomes the individual who is failing in the system, not the system itself.

¹⁷² Hunting and safari have always been closely linked, though they are not the same. Hunting safaris are both a hunt and an aesthetic encounter with the world created around the safari experience.

Chapter 6

Blood Lines: Cecil the Lion, Mandela, and Art in History

To be uprooted awakens reason by suggesting comparison—always a good start.¹

To re-write South African racial and capitalist modernity from within and through the sign — the real historical sign of this black/migrant worker — as opposed to seeking alternative, vernacular and multiple modernities that equally erase these working-class histories and struggles, remains a profound and on-going challenge.²

This chapter serves as an epilogue, or perhaps an ‘Afterword’. – It is chronologically ‘after’, or following the previous chapters, but it works also in a different register (of assembly, the aesthetic, labor history/politics, the metaphor of the ‘after rider’) to see how race might be thought simultaneously in the time after apartheid and with the conceptualizations of postapartheid or postcolonial theory. It both connects the threads between hunting and race across this dissertation, as well as offers openings for questions that arise from them. The previous chapter took the Lyon study as the provocation to examine the development of agriculture and livestock farms into hunting and game farms from the 1960s to the 1990s through narrative and practice. I argued that race was central to this process through the way it had been built into and articulated in hunting law and was also reprised in hunting narratives. In this concluding chapter, I embark on a different lion study, the killing of Cecil the lion. This lion study moves beyond the end of apartheid to connect hunting practice, development, and conservation with the hyper-technical media and the anxieties of economic uncertainty and environmental and cultural protection in the post-apartheid and how they are produced on the hunting farm; making the argument that hunting and the race relations it constituted is

¹ Regis Debray, “Socialism: A Life Cycle,” *New Left Review* 46 (July-August 2007): 25.

² Gary Minkley, “Legacies of Struggle: Martin Legassick and the Re-Imagining of South African History,” *South African Historical Journal* 56, no. 1 (2006): 8.

a deeply modern phenomenon rather than a practice one can romantically or otherwise associate with a pre-colonial or colonial past.

Three Events

Cecil

On July 1st 2015, a white hunter from Minnesota, Walter Palmer, armed with a crossbow, shot and wounded Cecil, a lion in Zimbabwe. Cecil was not killed until Palmer and his hunting party had tracked him for a day, shot him with a gun, skinned and beheaded him.³ News about Cecil's death hit media outlets in the last week of July. The *Star Tribune* reported that Palmer thought the hunt was legal.⁴ As details of the hunt emerged, however, poaching charges were laid against Palmer, Theo Bronkhorst (the professional hunter) and Honest Trymore Ndlovu (the land owner). The charges included lack of proper permits, luring/baiting Cecil out of Hwange National Park, and attempts to destroy Cecil's tracking collar.⁵ Trackers found Cecil's carcass, partially eaten and decaying in the veld, days later.⁶ During August Cecil related articles, posts, comments, and responses proliferated across social media, primarily on Facebook. These reactions on social media multiplied at a global level, demanding bans on trophy hunting, with

³ Paul Walsh and Brandon Stahl, "Twin Cities Dentist Admits to Killing Beloved Lion, Thought He Was Acting Legally," *Star Tribune*, July 29, 2015, <http://www.startribune.com/zimbabwe-2-to-appear-in-court-for-killing-cecil-the-lion/318828251/>.

⁴ Walsh and Stahl, "Twin Cities Dentist."

⁵ Walsh and Stahl, "Twin Cities Dentist." Also see The Zimbabwe Parks & Wildlife Management Authority, "Theo Bronkhorst, a professional hunter with Bushman Safaris is facing criminal charges for allegedly killing Cecil the lion," July 27, 2015, <http://www.zimparks.org/index.php/mc/210-joint-press-statement-by-zimbabwe-parks-and-wildlife-management-authority-and-safari-operators-association-of-zimbabwe-on-the-illegal-hunt-of-a-collared-lion-at-antoINETTE-farm-hwange-district-on-1-july-2015-in-gwayi-conservancy-by-bushman-safaris-profess>. Ultimately Palmer was never charged in Zimbabwe though he can only return to Zimbabwe as a tourist and not to hunt. Bronkhorst was acquitted after months of trial postponement. Ndlovu, after being released on bail, became a witness for the State.

⁶ Presumably these trackers were from The Zimbabwe Parks & Wildlife Management Authority or with the Oxford research team searching for Cecil via his tracking collar. WildCRU: Wildlife Conservation Research Unit, "Cecil the Lion," <https://www.wildcru.org/cecil-home/>.

threats up to and including death (a reprise of the manhunt first engaged with in the Implements of Destruction chapter) leveled at Palmer, Bronkhorst, and Ndlovu.

Conversely, there were just as many responses that came to the defense of big game hunting in Africa and its claims of supporting conservation and social development.

Mandela's Hunt

Conservative columnist Andre Walker, responding to the killing of Cecil in defense of trophy hunting in Africa⁷, returned to another article, this one from April 5, 1991 in *The Weekly Mail*, titled "Mandela goes Green."⁸ Walker reported on Nelson Mandela's hunting trip at Mthethomusha Game Reserve, overseen by the kaNgwane Parks Board in partnership with the Mpakeni community where revenue from hunting is split between kaNgwane Parks and Mpakeni for development projects.⁹ Mandela's two-week safari included the hunting of an impala and a blesbok, as well as several meetings with farm owners and park board members to discuss and encourage the linking of conservation and local community development.¹⁰ The quintessential photo of the hunter and his kill, in this case Mandela with his rifle and blesbok, accompanied the article. Citing both Mandela and the park board members, the article noted how hunting was seen as crucial to the anticipated new South Africa, for its role in linking rural development

⁷ Andre Walker, "Liberal Hypocrisy Over Mandela Game Hunting," *Townhall*, August 4, 2015, <http://townhall.com/tipsheet/andrewalker/2015/08/04/liberal-hypocrisy-over-mandela-game-hunting-n2034492>.

⁸ Eddie Koch, "Mandela goes Green," *The Weekly Mail*, April 5, 1991, <http://madiba.mg.co.za/article/1991-04-05-mandela-goes-green>. Walker's citation of this was to argue that Walter Palmer should not be vilified for killing Cecil when Nelson Mandela was lauded as a conservationist for his hunting. However, Walker's argument is merely a broad one of liberal versus conservative. There is no real engagement with a comparison of Mandela and Palmer when it comes to politics, nationality, animal shot, method, and purpose of hunt. However, this was the article that made the connection between Cecil, hunting, and Mandela.

⁹ Mthethomusha Game Reserve is located in the eastern *lowveld* near the southwest corner of Kruger National Park between Nelspruit and the Malelane Gate, just north of the N4.

¹⁰ Koch, "Mandela goes Green."

and social upliftment through wildlife management and culling, as well as for its contribution to conservation and anti-poaching efforts.¹¹

Red

*Red*¹² is an art installation by Simon Gush (with collaborators James Cairns and Mokotjo Mohulo) inspired by the production of a red Mercedes Benz for Nelson Mandela after his release from prison in 1990. The red car was built by the autoworkers at the Mercedes Benz factory in East London, on their own donated time. Later that year, those same workers also held a nine-week wildcat (the association/resonance here of this term with Cecil the lion is suggestive of connections across factories and farms, see below) strike in protest of centralised bargaining negotiations. Gush's work displayed a disassembled (and reimaged, reassembled) replica of the red Mercedes, the makeshift beds from the factory during the strike, and the worker's uniforms. *Red*, the art/work was accompanied by the black and white film *Red*¹³ that juxtaposed various narratives of the making of the red Mercedes and the strikes alongside still images of the Mercedes Benz factory and East London. It presented the dismembered components of a replica red Mercedes as Mandela's Mercedes, alongside representations of uniforms, fabric and materials from the factory where the vehicle was assembled. At the end of August 2015, *Red Assembly* brought Gush's work back to East London, in a two-day workshop with Gush and Cairns that centered on discussion and contemplation of the relationships

¹¹ Koch, "Mandela goes Green."

¹² Simon Gush, *Red*, 12 April 2015, <http://www.simongush.net/red-2/>. The film is embedded in Gush's website. Simon Gush and James Cairns, *Red*, 2014.

¹³ Gush and Cairns, *Red*, 2014.

between cinematic representation, narrative, sound(track), history, factory, assembly, and landscape.¹⁴

Serendipity and History

Sometimes things come together in a serendipitous fashion to ‘uproot’, as Debray says, and prompt important comparisons. I spent the month of August 2015 in the Waterberg District of Limpopo, roughly a day’s drive from Antoinette farm,¹⁵ adjacent to Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe, where Cecil was killed.¹⁶ During those weeks I was working to build a network of game farm owners, professional hunters, and hunting farm employees among whom I wanted to do research in the area. Cecil was the hot topic of conversation and, being a white American from Minnesota myself, everyone I encountered wanted to discuss the events. In the Waterberg, where private hunting farms now dominate much of the landscape, the primary concern after Cecil’s death was the potential economic fallout for the hunting industry after Cecil’s death. Any actions taken by countries or companies in response to protestors calling for bans on lion hunting, big game hunting, and the transport of hunting trophies could have dramatic consequences for the viability of farms in the area.¹⁷ Whereas for most of the 20th century farm viability

¹⁴ Gush was not explicit here about how he thought these relationships, but their interaction and representation are precisely the interplay of text, object, and sound that Foucault argues comprises a discourse in a way that allows something to be known/understood through its reference to other objects of knowledge.

¹⁵ The Zimbabwe Parks & Wildlife Management Authority, “Theo Bronchorst.” It is notable that, until now, no one seems to have made the connection between Cecil’s reported beheading and the irony of the farm being called ‘Antoinette’.

¹⁶ Hwange National Park is located along the border between Zimbabwe and Botswana, just south of the Zambezi River and Victoria Falls. As mentioned in my *After Riders* chapter, this region which would have been just north and west of the ‘Hunters Road’ was heavily traversed by 19th century hunters, particularly ivory hunters, as the elephant populations were pushed further north as hunting increased.

¹⁷ In part those concerns are being realized. Since August 2015, 40 airlines have banned the shipment of hunting trophies and the United States Fish and Wildlife Service has listed African lions as threatened under the Endangered Species Act, which could have implications for the number of US trophy hunters

was dependent on the market for agriculture and livestock, hunting farms are now dependent both on the fluctuating price of game animals as well as on the tourism market, which is tied closely to the global economy but also, in the case of hunting, to a particular aesthetic. This aesthetic hunting is associated of with a traditional originary, even archaic way of life, tied to historical myth, wilderness, storytelling etc. I argue, in opposition to this, or complicating this, that hunting – as evidenced in the way I have tracked its practice and meaning making through the last 150 years – is a profoundly modern undertaking, remaking itself and adapting to new economies, new sociopolitical relations, and to the new politics of race in which the ‘native’ has become the citizen subject but remains – by way of being rural, poor, in need of development (Legassick below: “the unemployed, the ultra-exploited, the poor and the powerless”) – always native and raced.

On the heels of the killing of Cecil and my time in the Waterberg, I attended *Red Assembly*, convened importantly in East London. Much like the Waterberg, East London and the Eastern Cape are sites on the margins of South Africa with long contested histories over labor in the factories as well as over wildlife conservation in southern and South Africa. While terms like ‘margin’, ‘frontier’ and ‘border’ carry their own weight, *Red Assembly* here marked a poignant spatial connection between such contested histories and the reactions to Cecil’s death, despite his killing taking place in southeastern

traveling to South Africa. South African Predator Association, “Is the lion the new rhino?,” May 24, 2016, <http://www.southafricanpredatorassociation.org/n7/general-news/is-the-lion-the-new-rhino?.html>. Whereas for most of the 20th century farm viability was dependent on the market for agriculture and livestock, hunting farms are now dependent both on the fluctuating price of game animals as well as on the tourism market, which is tied closely to the global economy but also, in the case of hunting, to a particular aesthetic. This aesthetic hunting is associated of with a traditional originary, even archaic way of life, tied to historical myth, wilderness, storytelling etc. I argue, in opposition to this, or complicating this, that hunting – as evidenced in the way I have tracked its practice and meaning making through the last 150 years – is a profoundly modern undertaking, remaking itself and adapting to new economies, new sociopolitical relations, and to the new politics of race in which the ‘native’ has become the citizen subject but remains – by way of being rural, poor, in need of development (Legassick below: “the unemployed, the ultra-exploited, the poor and the powerless”) – always native and raced.

Zimbabwe. In the Waterberg, I had been viewing old black and white photographs of hunts on farms in the *bushveld* from the early 20th century. I was present during a few hunts and saw the blood on the *veld*, and on the workshop floor where the animals were field dressed. These images came flooding back as I made my way through *Red*, as I watched the film again, as presentations and conversations throughout the workshop proceeded. This prompted a number of what perhaps otherwise might seem like unrelated and unconventional or ahistorical connections: between a red Mercedes Benz and a lion (as trophies), between a wild ‘cat’ strike on a factory floor and online protests over the killing of the wild cat, Cecil (protest politics, politics of protest), between the red blood on the shop floor and the lion’s red blood on the *veld* (blood/violence), between Mandela-and-the-car and Mandela-and-the-hunt (politics).

These connections, despite a certain sense of serendipity and seemingly making somewhat playful connections, in fact mark a more serious coming together of contingency and conjuncture, of flows of global cultural, material, financial, and epistemological capital, as well of questions about the nature of the relational to history.¹⁸ The connections evoked here, between the Waterberg and East London, expose the farm and factory as sites of global industry, connected not just by media and art, but also by the movement of people, goods, and services. In the case of Cecil, social media technology collapses various sites – the hunting farm and the various protester locations – into the screen and the newsfeed. This is an intensifying connection of information and events, yet evidence also of a simultaneous physical disjuncture between person and person, markedly different from the door-to-door engagement discussed by workers in

¹⁸ While this chapter is concerned with 21st century interactions, the flows of global cultural, material, financial, and epistemological capital have been at work in hunting in southern Africa since the 19th century. See the After Riders chapter.

the film when negotiating the strike and debating collective bargaining. So, there is at once a new, increasingly imbricated continuity of global sites produced by technology, and a shift, intensified, of the ability and nature of a worker or observer to relate to each other in order to protest or discuss an event. The complex responses in the public sphere to the violence regarding the hunting of animals and the associated threats to hunt down the alleged 'poachers' serve as an unnerving reminder that the hunting of animals and the hunting of humans remain not as clearly separated from one another as we may want to think. In light of the black African as poacher discussed in the Implements of Destruction chapter above, the events surrounding Cecil point to the ways that race and class remain unstable markers of difference in the poaching debate, with Palmer as the wealthy *white* American suddenly at the center of the poaching debate, though tied quickly and directly to global trade via the threat of banning trophy imports, and Ndlovu, the *black* landowner, garnering little attention in the media. It seems like an inversion of the racial order I have tracked so far, and yet, it is global economic relations and new technologies (of communication, transport and the hunt) that harden/perpetuate the racial ordering that continues to structure the hunt, the postcolonial world and meaning making. Nations (Zimbabwe vs. South Africa), and (national) boundaries, like fences, as well as the global order here both constrain and reshape the contingent, unstable nature of race; and yet, without reverting to an ethnic or historicist argument, one might wonder which historic routes of migration, hunting and conquest condition belonging here more fluidly via the Waterberg and the boundary between modern-day Zimbabwe and South Africa (see discussion of Mzilikaze crossing these boundaries in Imagining Waterberg chapter and concern over hunting across the Limpopo in the *Achter die berg* chapter).

With the emerging efficiency of big game hunting as a global industry, game farms in South Africa have become sites for the production of game and hunts. An historical look at the operation of these farms points to the continued elite status of the farm owners and hunters, most of whom in South Africa remain white while the labor on the farms remains primarily black.¹⁹ This inequality along racial lines remains sharp within a region like the Waterberg, despite the globally connected hunting industry that can constrain and shape localities such as the Waterberg irrespective of racial differences.²⁰ Small numerical shifts in ownership along racial lines are beginning to take place, though the increase in black African ownership of private game farms remains with a wealthy elite class. In 2013 I attended the Care for Wild Africa Game Symposium in Pretoria where among the few hundred in attendance, there was one black African farm owner.²¹ I spoke with him over lunch and he related to me that while there is some interest in the hunting farms as an investment among wealthier black Africans, the costs remain high to establish a viable farm with enough land and animals. Further he mentioned, looking around the lawn where we all stood eating our *boerewors*, that there were ‘cultural’ barriers that were difficult to overcome and deal with as a black African landowner operating a hunting farm primarily for white hunters.²² With the

¹⁹ The previous chapter, *Securing Separations*, examined how the hunting farm came into being; my examination here focuses on how these farms operate.

²⁰ The potentially negative economic impact of bans on hunting trophy transportation resulting from reactions to Cecil’s killing will have consequences for all farms in the region, however those consequences will fall unequally across racial lines, which are marked by wealth and class.

²¹ The Care for Wild Africa Game Symposium, advertised and also known as the Wild Expo, covered central topics of the industry – biodiversity, eco-tourism, game ranch management, development, and sustainability. It was held on 9 August 2013.

²² I happened to meet this landowner in line for lunch, and we spoke a bit about why each of us was in attendance. This is perhaps why he felt comfortable making his comment about the ‘cultural’ obstacles with white hunters. I only became aware that he was the only black African landowner through our conversation when I asked what brought him to the expo. There were many other black Africans in attendance, but they were all students from a nearby game ranch management school. Conversation, Landowner, 9 August 2013.

intensification and accumulation of finance capital on these farms, the gap between rich farm owners and hunters, and the farm laborers (white and black), and the attending racialization of the game farm landscape, becomes more pronounced.²³

The epigraph from Gary Minkley above comes from a piece commenting on the contributions of Martin Legassick's work to South African history. Minkley quotes Legassick from 1974:

The structures of South Africa sustain a situation in which it is whites (though not all whites) who are the accumulators of capital, the wealthy, and the powerful, while the majority of blacks (though not all blacks) are the unemployed, the ultra-exploited, the poor and the powerless. The existence of, or potential of percentage reform is less relevant than analyzing the conditions for redressing the situation.²⁴

While Legassick's call for analyzing the conditions for redress were taken up in the mode of social history, the epigraph from Minkley above emphasizes that the urgent historical questions of the post-apartheid are not found in alternative social histories, but through a critical interrogation of the historical sign of the black migrant worker (again, I am reading these signs through hunting via Ginzburg and the intimate connection between hunting and narrative). Here the 'migrant worker' is marked by his destination as urban and industrial although one might consider, via his/her origin, the migrant worker's relationship to the land and the process of exclusion and exile, removal from ownership of the land and the hunt that I developed in the Implements of Destruction chapter. Therefore, a counter (but not binary or opposite) historical sign is that of the rural farm worker. Overwhelmingly black, living on or near the farms they work at, these laborers are the operators of the hunting farm, obscured by the keywords of a global hunting industry – development, community engagement, sustainability, conservation,

²³ See discussion of stakeholders in the Lyon study, *Securing Separation* chapter.

²⁴ Minkley, "Legacies of Struggle," 6.

preservation and by a language that erases race by slight of hand: “local people,” “local communities” (see below) – that continues to find profit and pastime in a ‘wild’ African landscape.²⁵ In the online responses to the killing of Cecil, attention was paid only to Palmer (international hunter), Bronkhorst (professional hunting guide), and Ndlovu (farm owner). Ndlovu, as a black farm owner, signaled two important points. Firstly that Ndlovu is Zimbabwean and that land ownership and land reform in Zimbabwe has its own set of concerns and provocations that cannot be addressed here. However, it must be noted that Ndlovu apparently acquired Antoinette Farm through the Fast Track Land Resettlement Program via his political connections as an elite member of ZANU-PF.²⁶ Secondly, that just his names – Honest, Trymore, Ndlovu (elephant) – coincidental perhaps, are nevertheless revealing and suggestive in that they evoke the social and political dynamics of the desire for a trusted, disciplined neo-liberal black African.²⁷ These dynamics are tied closely into wealth and power, which are both needed to access the ownership circles of game farming. Additionally, it is important to note how race as a factor in land ownership for Ndlovu gets erased in the social media debates around hunting, race, and Cecil.²⁸ The production of the hunting farm and its labor as racially ordered remained unexplored. When alluded to, this labor and production often was limited to a discussion of race through the broad keywords and categories above. What the troika of Cecil/*Red*/Mandela enables is a look at the continuity, the continued

²⁵ Obscured also by the managerial language that replaced race in the 1983 Nature Conservation Ordinance, language, that in the 1967 Ordinance had been Bantu, white, non-white, that had in the 1940s been ‘native’, that was in official documents as well as the historiography ‘black’, or ‘coloured’, and that, in terms of hunting was at one time an ‘after rider’.

²⁶ Tamuka Chirimambowa, “The untold story of Cecil the Lion,” August 23, 2015, <http://nehandaradio.com/2015/08/23/the-untold-story-of-cecil-the-lion/>. ZANU-PF is the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front.

²⁷ This positionality of the black body in hunting is discussed in more detail, via Mandela, below.

²⁸ Ndlovu falls out of the social media narrative quite quickly as the focus of the vitriol and call for criminal charges centers more heavily on Palmer and Bronkhorst.

urgency, of the interplay between race and class as well as the intensification of their interaction with a simultaneous distancing and distraction – operated, practiced, through the rise of social media as a primary medium for transmission of ideas about the world. I am arguing here for a different, but connected reading of Goodrich’s ‘educating attention’ argument.²⁹ Goodrich focuses on the performance of hunting for white Afrikaners as a cultural mode of producing identity by drawing on the history and practice of hunting. I am arguing that there remains a strongly embedded education about the relation of race to hunting in practice and narrative that simultaneously positions black Africans as marginal and as necessary labor for a hunt, but that now also extends beyond the farm and is observed through a digital discourse that compresses time and space into a screen while expanding the message globally.

To return to my Introduction, and the question of history as a discipline again from the position of education outlined above, I read hunting here as a productive space to bring about a rethinking of race as an historical problem. As Qadri Ismail argues, we need to question the desire for information through history, because history emerges problematically as a discipline through categories of modernity that we are conscripted into – a colonial ordering of notions of time, space, past, race, gender, class.³⁰ Yet Ismail’s critique of history does not call for the discipline to be disposed of, indeed, he suggests history is ‘not just unavoidable, but necessary.’³¹ This need for more history comes with a caution, an insistence that alternative histories, additions of new categories

²⁹ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 158. See discussion in Securing Separation chapter.

³⁰ Qadri Ismail, “(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India: Amin, Chakrabarty, and the Critique of History,” *Cultural Critique* 68 (Winter 2008), 213. On conscription and its inescapability see David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 21.

³¹ Ismail, “(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India,” 211.

of ‘history from below,’ along the lines suggested by Minkley above, are insufficient.³² Such a proliferation of historical work falls back into an identity politics that leaves the categories of historical production unexamined and are thus likely to repeat the work of such politics. These histories, according to John Mowitt, become merely, “a liberalism content to sacrifice emancipation to recognition . . . utterly unwilling to think through the anxiety that attends its organizing concept.”³³ Emancipation here is not another alternative history but a practice of exposing the seams along which history is produced, its modes of production which I have tried to unstitch and make visible in the earlier chapters.³⁴

The coming together of the troika of Cecil/*Red*/Mandela enables a reflexive look at the production and retrieval of information through the ‘old’ ways of photography, film, and narrative, as well as the ‘new’ ways of social media and information technology.³⁵ In both we see claims to authoritative knowing about an event – Cecil/*Red*/Mandela – claims that remain valid in the eyes of those making them. This acknowledgement of the validity of competing complex ambiguous claims is productive for thinking history differently, as Ismail argues via Shahid Amin, because it “refuses, that is, to be judgmental, to homogenize; instead it respects the specificity, the heterogeneity, the singularity of these accounts.”³⁶ The assertion of validity of opposing

³² Drawing on Helena Pohlandt-McCormick’s comments from *Red Assembly*.

³³ John Mowitt, *Re-Takes: Postcoloniality and Foreign Film Languages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xxviii. Cited in Ismail, ‘(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India’, 216.

³⁴ On the modes of historical production, see Premesh Lalu, *The Deaths of Hints: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009).

³⁵ See also Debray, “Socialism: A Life Cycle” and his ‘three estates’ of the logosphere (from the invention of writing to the printing press, marked by theological writing transmitted through dictation and oral); the graphosphere (the age of reason and the book - proliferation of written text); the videosphere (expanding today – the age of the image where the book is subordinate and “the visible triumphs over the great invisibles—God, History, Progress—of the previous epochs”), (27).

³⁶ Ismail, “(Not) At Home in (Hindu) India,” 238.

opinions, something not seen in the vitriol produced in the aftermath of Cecil, is the work that *Red* does by leaving the viewer undecided, both in the art and the film, about the ultimate consequences of the red Mercedes and the wildcat strike. It practices a critique of history through answering the call for a more critical history. I frame Cecil/*Red*/Mandela as a way to follow this critique by exposing the underlying structures of hunting and the way hunting structures meaning making and the making of race that are obscured and go unexamined in a digital world of protest that, while calling attention to various sites of concern around the world, struggles to go deeper than naming and shaming. In particular, Cecil/*Red*/Mandela raises questions about how race is structured and contested in the modern technologies of art, hunting, and social media, as well as how historians, artists, hunters, farmers, and laborers come together, become assembled, in a history of hunting. I have tried to effect such an assembly throughout the preceding chapters and through my analyses of race as hunting narratives and practice/hunting narratives and practices as race-making that are connected over time and various discourses/conceptualization through the Waterberg via Fawcett-Prance-Hofmeyr-Hunter (Imagining Waterberg), Arkwright and FitzPatrick (After Riders), Stevenson-Hamilton and de Beer (*Achter die berg*), the 1949/1963/1983 'Game' vs. 'Nature Conservation' ordinances and (Implements of Destruction and Securing Separation), and finally, through Cecil/*Red*/Mandela. Such an assembly is by no means teleological, but rather is an indicator that, over the political/economic/social changes of the long 20th century, one thing that has remained and accumulated in its discourse and practice is hunting and its entanglement with the making of racial difference. A rethinking of this remainder and accumulation remains urgently necessary in a new South Africa where the

violence of imperialism and the systems of apartheid continue to operate as do the habits of historians who continue to seek “alternative, vernacular and multiple modernities” not realizing that they “equally erase these working-class histories and struggles.”³⁷ They do so in many cases more efficiently as in the production of cars and lions, if sometimes less obviously, as under an African National Congress (ANC) government that still looks to the idea(l) of Mandela for continued social and political change while refusing the “profound and on-going challenge” to read “from within and through the sign” – like the hunter reading the tracks of his prey – “the real historical sign of this black/migrant worker” *and the black (hunting) farm worker* to “re-write South African racial and capitalist modernity.”

Two central points of concern emerge from a critical look at Cecil/*Red*/Mandela: first is the eliding of the racial formations that continue to determine the politics of hunting in Africa in global and national discussions.³⁸ The second is a move toward protecting the privileges of international hunting of big game at the local level through renewed claims to the development practices and goals that govern discussions about private game farming in South Africa, and that organize land, labor, investment, and social development programs.³⁹ Both the practices of hunting and responses to events like Cecil’s killing call attention to the production of hunting as a practice of wilderness,

³⁷ I return here to the epigraphy from Minkley with which this chapter opens, Minkley, “Legacies of Struggle,” 8.

³⁸ These have been embodied in the after rider, poor white, white sport hunter, poacher, landowner, occupier, manager, staff, conservator, and game guard.

³⁹ Recall the Lyon study from the Securing Separations chapter: this report both prompted the look back at ownership/fencing/hunting law consolidation/farm establishments of the apartheid decades that form the genesis of private hunting and game farms, as well as pointing to the present-day concerns of development practice to articulate an economic solution with measurable numerical redress (paralleled in the production/proliferation of “alternative, vernacular and multiple modernities” as a way to redress the neglect of history) at a local level – though without the ability to engage many local stakeholders besides the (white) landowners. Andrew Lyon, Philippa Hunter-Jones, Gary Warnaby. “Are we any closer to sustainable development? Listening to active stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa,” *Tourism Management* 61 (2017): 234-247.

ecology and wildlife protection, a discourse and strategy that is marked by distractions from a necessary politics of change.

Art, Technology and the Hunt

If art challenges perception by inviting a different type of reading, and post-apartheid predicaments and disappointments demand a careful reconsideration of the possibilities of change and the weight of history, then what might such a reading of Cecil/*Red*/Mandela enable? Nelson Mandela – as the recipient of the gift of the red Mercedes and as the symbolic representative, the sign, of the transformation of hunting and conservation – is the figure that evokes the link between *Red* and hunting. Such a reading invites careful attention to the interplay between recurrence and contingency, between event and meaning making, and between claims to transformation and post-apartheid realities.

Red invites viewers to contemplate and juxtapose, on the one hand through cinematic representation, narrative, sound(track), history, factory, assembly, and landscape. On the other, *Red* also presents the dismembered components of a replica red Mercedes as Mandela's Mercedes, alongside representations of uniforms, fabric and materials from the factory where the vehicle was assembled. With my time on Waterberg game farms and the taxidermy adorning their walls fresh in my mind, the car doors hanging on the gallery walls seemed displayed as trophies. The bonnet presented on the gallery entrance floor was reminiscent of a lion skin rug in the entrance of a game lodge. The carcass of the car's body hung outside on a rack as a carcass of a trophy animal hangs in the shop for skinning and field dressing. Here Gush's work transformed the red

Mercedes into a sign, one that demanded of the viewer to question the car, its production, its dismemberment, its history, the space it inhabited and the journey that brought it there. There (in the Waterberg) we need to read the signs of race, reinscribed by another name, into international big game hunting and development practices and goals that have claimed the game farm and hunting for conservation. This disturbs the comfortable and safe narrative of every other ordinary Mercedes Benz driving down the streets of East London, or lined up on the docks in the film awaiting shipment across the seas. In a way Cecil's death, and the response to it, made similar demands of lion hunting for those who encountered it.

The juxtaposition of the dismembered, yet 'assembled' red Mercedes with a black and white film titled *Red* emphasizes the importance of the color red as a symbol of the blood spilled in the fight for liberation. While the color red was initially chosen to contrast the black cars driven by politicians of the apartheid regime, red came to signify blood in the retelling of the making of the car. In the opening minutes of the film Thembaletu Fikizolo recalls the actual blood on the shop floor during the strike. Later in the film it is noted that Mandela, upon receiving the car from Philip Groom on behalf of the workers and the community, recalled the blood spilled in the struggle. These exchanges are part of the interview with Groom voiced over black and white still shots of the stadium where the presentation and speech took place. It is, in *Red*, an empty stadium landscape, though images of full stadium rallies quickly come to mind accentuating the emptiness, with resonances of the disappointments of the present as the time after apartheid, and of past promises and possibilities.⁴⁰ Likewise, images of Palmer posing

⁴⁰ This resonates with the nostalgic remembrances of *voortrekkers* and *bittereinders* and the days of the 'empty' veld that was once populated with game and was a hunter's paradise.

with Cecil placed alongside Mandela and his blesbok, and alongside ‘empty’ unpeopled scenes of the veld on hunting lodge websites, accentuate the continued violence and blood spilled in creating and maintaining wild Africa.⁴¹ These classic images move beyond just the hunter, his gun, and the dead animal. They expose the link between aesthetics and development, an ‘aesthetics of development’, that is found in the production and marketing of the game farm.⁴² The materiality of taxidermy in the hunting trophy points to the materiality of the logics of production that lead to the animal being displayed on a wall, often in the lodge on the very farm it was killed on.

⁴¹ These hunting images and portraits trace back to the 1800s and Thomas Baines’ art or William Cornwallis Harris’ sketches (which adorn dust jackets of current historical work, yet remain unanalyzed, such as Storey’s *Guns, Race, and Power in Colonial South Africa*) and through to Clive Walker’s paintings of the game and landscape of the Waterberg.

⁴² See the section ‘The Production of the Ordinary Technologies of a Hunt’ below.

Mandela-and-the-hunt and Mandela-and-the-car



Figure 4 - Nelson Mandela posing with a blesbok. E. Koch, 'Mandela goes Green,' *The Weekly Mail*, 5 April 1991. Photo: Jeremy Anderson

In 1991, within a year of receiving the red Mercedes from the factory workers in East London, and the same year that the Game Theft Act was passed making game ownership legal,⁴³ Mandela went hunting. A large photograph – a black and white

⁴³ See Securing Separations chapter.

photograph, like those in the film *Red* – accompanied the ‘Mandela goes Green’ story in *The Weekly Mail* and is reminiscent of colonial hunting images.⁴⁴ It places Mandela in the literal and figurative position of the ‘great white hunter.’⁴⁵

Mandela noted that rural people had, in the past, frequently been dispossessed of their land so that conservation areas could be created. Many saw reserves and the game wardens who run them as an integral part of apartheid’s oppressive institutions.⁴⁶

The field vest, a ‘hunter’s uniform’, frames Mandela in such a way that black South Africans can see themselves in his position, in a future to come where they hold more social, economic, and political control, benefiting from a purportedly transformed conservation economy that would right the wrongs of colonialism and apartheid. Yet there is also the small picture inserted in the upper right hand corner of the page of Mandela with his white male hunting companion. Whereas that photo almost seems to be looking over the shoulder of the other photo, it also presents the looming specter of the reality of structures of the hunt as embedded in a history of white power over the land and black African labor. Further, the original photo was in color and showed Mandela’s jacket to be, in fact, a bright blue windbreaker. The gray scale newsprint image likens the

⁴⁴ Koch, “Mandela goes Green.” Another connection, that links to technology and history, arises here: a Google search of ‘Mandela goes Green’ produces a first page result for an article about how many people remember the color chartreuse as a reddish color when it is in fact more of green color. Further, this article appears on a website called ‘Mandela Effect’ that promotes theories of alternate memories and alternate realities (thus, alternate histories?). The website began after research into the paranormal prompted by the website creator Fiona Broome’s conversations about memories she and others had that Mandela had died in prison. Setting aside a debate about such memories as false versus alternate reality, such a juxtaposition of red/green as a ‘Mandela effect’ is productive for attempting to think differently about historical representation via *Red*/Mandela/Cecil. See Fiona Broome, “Chartreuse: Red or Green? (and other colors),” February 15, 2015, <http://mandelaeffect.com/chartreuse-red-or-green/>.

⁴⁵ Mandela is the hero and the hunter. He evokes the heroic work of the workers and the struggle, the manly practice of hunting, the aesthetic reading and contemplation of hunting and nature, and a reading of nature that produced and was reproduced in the physical texts/images of hunting narratives and travelogues discussed in the *After Riders* chapter and reprised in the mid-20th century as discussed in the *Securing Separation* chapter.

⁴⁶ Koch, “Mandela goes Green.” Previous chapters have articulated various forms of this long history of dispossession, from hunting as capitalizing the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republics, to farm demarcation and settlement, the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, changes in occupier status via hunting, the fencing farms and trespass laws. By no means a comprehensive list, but a long history nonetheless.

windbreaker more to a hunting vest or jacket for the purposes of the article, but the ‘true colors’ of the blue jacket immediately references the bright blue factory/mine/industrial worker uniforms of many black South Africans. This folds the narrative back into placing the black African into the position of the migrant worker Minkley urges us to attempt to engage/write and read as a sign.

Simultaneously, white farm owners saw in Mandela’s hunt a validation of their claims to conservation practices through hunting, land management, and wildlife economy. The use of the word ‘converts’ in the headline to describe the conceptual action of Mandela turning to conservation through his hunting experience adds an evangelical tone to the politics of conservation. This both emphasizes the importance of a particular type of conservation, with hunting as a key element, rooted in western colonial understandings of conservation; as well as it evokes a spiritual return to primeval wild Africa – a romantic aesthetic that seems immortal in its continuous rebirth.⁴⁷ Further, the claims of (desire for) access to the privilege of hunting are similar to the claims of (desire for) access to the luxury vehicle/Mercedes, previously only accessible to whites. This privilege, constituted by means of a history of whites excluding Africans from the hunt and the land (except as labor, recall my discussion on occupier status from *Implements of Destruction* chapter), and the necessary creation of the category of ‘poachers’ to enforce that exclusion, is not unlike the creation of ‘terrorists’ to render freedom fighters like Mandela as outside of politics, and therefore illegitimate (*Securing Separation* chapter). The image of Mandela and his kill (and the smaller inset image over his shoulder), perhaps unwittingly, foreshadowed the continued white ownership of and control over

⁴⁷ Recall my discussion of the current literature about the Waterberg in the *Imagining Waterberg* chapter. See also Jonathan Adams and Thomas McShane, *The Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation Without Illusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 6.

conservation practices, whose perpetuation the ANC is complicit in through the promotion of liberal policies of economics and development entrenched in the land and the game farm. This continuation of controlled access for black South Africans to hunting only as laborers, or as prominent exceptions, remains despite the figure of Mandela implying a dramatic shift, a true transformation, in access to the hunting industry along racial lines.⁴⁸

The content of the article reaffirms this reading of the photograph, noting that Mandela encouraged the linking of conservation and local community development, citing “fast-dwindling plant and animal species” and adding fuel to the degradation argument that underpins much of the conservation narrative in southern Africa.⁴⁹ The kaNgwane Parks Board saw hunting as crucial to rural development and social upliftment through wildlife management and culling. Mthethomusha Game Reserve, where Mandela’s hunt took place, through its partnership with Mpakeni, splits its revenue from hunting between kaNgwane Parks and development projects for the Mpakeni community.⁵⁰ It is important to note the article’s emphasis on decreased poaching in reserves associated with community support for hunting. This implies that black Africans are poachers until they can be educated about the proper way to utilize the economic value of wildlife – through managed big game hunting. By implication, Mandela the formerly imprisoned ANC ‘terrorist’ was being normalized, domesticated to the modes of hunting conservation.

⁴⁸ Again, there are small shifts toward black South Africans in game farm ownership though these are mostly by wealthy elites.

⁴⁹ Koch, “Mandela goes Green.”

⁵⁰ Koch, “Mandela goes Green.” This similar to the type of development project undertaken by the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve and evaluated by the Lyon study, however the difference in the Waterberg is that the scope of the biosphere reserve is larger, under the UNESCO umbrella, and much of the land remains privately white owned.

To think with my analysis of *Jock of the Bushveld* from the After Riders chapter, Mandela was perceived as properly ‘trained’. A remark about Mandela’s ‘perfect hunter’s shot’ placed particular emphasis on his marksmanship.⁵¹ Such a comment reinforces the need for proficiency in the technologies and practices of hunting in order for a hunt to be carried out properly. Technological proficiencies – tracking expertise, marksmanship, ecological land management, understanding of liberal development economics, military security protocol – serve as the marker for success if hunting, as conservation, is to continue to be successful in the new South Africa to come that the Koch article emphasized. Again, the farm is a site for the operations of a global hunting industry. These proficiencies and expertise now ostensibly replace race, and perhaps are marked more visibly by class, as that which differentiates, disassembles, and excludes. What was in the 1983 Nature Conservation Ordinance (Securing Separations chapter) a linguistic turn away from overt racial language to administrative categories of management has, in the post-apartheid hunting farm, been extended through a capitalized industry of owning and selling game into a global development project that emphasizes redress and resilience through a rhetoric of “local people” and “local communities” that unabashedly disavows the specter of race that haunts these concepts (see Hanks below). The article claims, “Mandela’s new enthusiasm for green issues puts the ANC in the forefront of efforts to include environmental rehabilitation and protection in the building of a new South Africa.” This puts Mandela and the ANC (the new South Africa of the early 1990s) in the position of deferring racial politics and transformation in favor of promoting hunting and the technologies of hunting, rooted in apartheid and colonial

⁵¹ Koch, “Mandela goes Green.”

governance, as agents of social, environmental and economic change. Again, to quote the article at length:

John Hanks, chief executive of the Southern African Nature Foundation, said it was vital that new governments in South Africa place environmental issues on the top of their agendas. “I was delighted to hear of Mr. Mandela's commitment to humanising conservation and of his support for the principle of consulting local people in the development of conservation projects,” said Hanks.

“More importantly, he has realised the value of ensuring that the benefits of these projects go back to local communities.” Ferrar said his meeting with Mandela had created a useful link between established conservation bodies and the ANC and hoped that it would be the first in a series of consultations between green groups and political organisations.⁵²

“Humanising conservation” and a “useful link between established conservation bodies and the ANC”: on the one hand this language acknowledges the need for local community involvement and development, while on the other hand it reinforces the practices of conservation established and solidified under an apartheid regime of ‘separate development’ that solidified land ownership and wealth of the hunting industry in the hands of whites, operated by black labor. “Local” and “community” are development’s new, more oblique language of race. As the Lyon study in the previous chapter indicates, the consultation of ‘local people’ (read: black South Africans) in the development of conservation is not homogenous and often leaves ‘local people’ as passive, not active, participants.⁵³ It would be interesting to know whether the workers at Mthethomusha Game Reserve looked upon Mandela’s hunt as a ‘labor of love’ in the

⁵² Koch, “Mandela goes Green.” The Southern African Nature Foundation was initially established in 1968 as the Southern African Wildlife Foundation. In 1995 it was renamed to World Wildlife Fund for Nature South Africa. It began as a conservation project for fauna, but expanded in the 1970s and 1980s to encompass nature conservation more broadly. http://www.wwf.org.za/our_story/our_history/ Like the Transvaal Game Protection Association and the Transvaal Land Owners Association of the earlier 20th century (see *Achter die berg* chapter), the formerly South African Nature Foundation had strong political access and the power to influence the shape discourses on hunting, evidenced by its presence at Mandela’s hunt.

⁵³ See Securing Separations chapter.

same way as the factory workers in East London viewed the making of Mandela's car as such.

Mandela's participation in this hunt linked the heroics of the ANC, its resistance struggle (so carefully documented and yet called into question in *Red*), and the anticipated post-apartheid, to the embedded structures of white owned and operated national and private hunting conservation practices. What could have been a project of institutional reform, with Mandela directly addressing the legacies of apartheid and colonialism, the "structures" and "conditions" that "sustain a situation" of racial ordering (see Legassick above) cemented in hunting, has instead become merely a project of racial numerical redress⁵⁴ through the training of non-white managers and operators of game farm.⁵⁵

The fact that factory workers in East London worked overtime without pay to produce the red Mercedes – not jeopardizing the regular production line – is a similar form of low-cost redress rather than transformation. It did not challenge the operations of the global Mercedes Benz system at their factory site. When the workers demanded real, not just symbolic transformation, through strikes, they were quickly called to order and ultimately dismissed. They were turned into 'poachers' of corporate time, money, and resources.

⁵⁴ On the continuing challenges of thinking historically about race and social transformation, see Suren Pillay, 'Translating 'South Africa': Race, Colonialism and Challenges of Critical Thought after Apartheid' in *Re-Imagining the Social in South Africa: Critique, Theory and Post-apartheid Society*, eds. H. Jacklin and P. Vale (Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2009), 235-267.

⁵⁵ An example of this need for proper training is the South African Wildlife College (SAWC), initially conceived of in 1992 and opened in 1997. Coincidentally, in 2006, Mercedes Benz sponsored the new automotive workshop for the college. See South African Wildlife College, <http://www.wildlifecollege.org.za/index.php?id=246>. Predating SAWC, Lapalala Wilderness School, <http://lwschool.org/current/>, was started by Clive Walker in the Waterberg in 1985, and Lapalala was premised on Ian Player's Wilderness School in KwaZulu Natal in which Walker had participated. Walker remains a central figure of conservation in the Waterberg, see *Imagining Waterberg*.

The difficulty in addressing the processes that repeat this deferral of real change lay in the ‘troubling legacies’ of the long history of the global networks, disciplinary and economic, that now control the hunting industry in Africa.⁵⁶ The cultural aspects of hunting practices are so entrenched in colonial British/European and apartheid Afrikaner ritual and land use that the return to hunting ‘by Africans’ in an attempted process of return to pre-colonial cultural recovery is not possible.⁵⁷ Rather, in a post-apartheid South Africa, the attempt is being made at racial incorporation into the business practices of hunting while maintaining the racial structures of power and practice that mark the economic divide in hunting. The hunting farm remains a site of global industry, dominated by highly financed and capitalized organizations and individuals, despite the beginnings of a move to racial redress. Importantly, from the perspective of international marketing, in an African hunt for international hunters⁵⁸, the invocation of local community benefit from a white owned game farm offers the allure of an ‘authentic’ African hunting experience, tied up in the ‘myth of wild Africa’ but justified through the humanitarian discourse of development.⁵⁹ Such perceived authenticity perpetuates racial stereotypes of the position of the black African body in the landscape of wild Africa and often comes with the expectation that the business and financial ends of a hunt will still

⁵⁶ The conceptual theoretical grounds of *Red Assembly* marked this as ‘the concern over the failure or limitations of the transition, the hardening fronts of nationalism, the depredations of late capitalism, and the prickly assertion of disciplinary boundaries and disagreement’...where, ‘questions – even those as fundamental as those of race, class and gender – sound different depending on the disciplinary frame within which they are posed’. Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, Gary Minkley, John Mowitt & Leslie Witz, “Red Assembly: East London Calling,” *Parallax* 22, no. 2 (2016): 125-26.

⁵⁷ Hunting practices and ideas around race, technology, preservation, fair chase, tracking, and capture are inescapable from, and ‘conscripted’ to, conceptual and technological workings of modernity. Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 21.

⁵⁸ I am speaking here primarily about solicitation of American and European hunters who were the central figures in the debates about Cecil. There are certainly large contingents of non-white big game hunters from other parts of Africa, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, and China who come to South Africa to hunt.

⁵⁹ Adams and McShane, *Myth of Wild Africa*.

be safely, securely, and conveniently in the trustworthy hands of a white South African. A 2012 article in the *Financial Mail*⁶⁰, entitled ‘Wildly Successful’ discussed the rise of international hunting and the game ranch as an integral part of the South African economy and as a vanguard industry for promoting a part of the new national identity centered on the national resource of wildlife and the land it occupies.⁶¹ One quote from the article in particular demonstrates the perception of the trustworthy white South African. The author, Stafford Thomas cites François Schutte (which roughly translates to ‘shooter’, another fascinating name connection, similar to the *skut* of the *zwarte skut* – black shot – see *After Riders* and *Achter die berg* chapters), a game rancher in the Free State who noted that South Africa holds a large competitive advantage over many other countries in Africa. “Foreign hunters often encounter problems in other African countries to a point of harassment,” he says, “[t]hat’s why they prefer to come to SA, where things are run well.”⁶² While there may be practical, logistical truth to some aspects this statement, it also implies more. The language here is telling of the residual racial and class sentiments of ‘problems’ and ‘harassment’ that come with hunting and travel in black governed Africa. These lines are directly in step with the disinterested opening and closing comments. They highlight the legacy of colonial and apartheid

⁶⁰ *Financial Mail* is an English language business publication that focuses on South African finance and business news. Its audience is primarily people associated with larger businesses markets and it is a widely used source for knowledge on current business and financial trends affecting South Africa. www.fm.co.za That an article on hunting and private game farms is in the *Financial Mail* indicates in part the extent to which global capital and markets are central to the farms’ operations and vice versa, that the primordial experience of an authentic Africa through the hunt is very much part of a global imaginary and the economic opportunities of the privileged North. It would seem that the body of this article should be about how the hunting and game ranching industry is intervening directly into the social issues listed in its initial sentences: rural job creation, food security and scarce water resources with practical solutions for the redressing of the socio-economic inequalities in society. Instead, the bulk of this article focuses on the profitability of the industry as a business ripe for investment.

⁶¹ Stafford Thomas, “Wildly Successful,” *Financial Mail*, April 5, 2012, accessed April 12, 2012, <http://www.fm.co.za/Article.aspx?id=169129#>.

⁶² Thomas, “Wildly Successful.”

subjection that continues to repeat itself in development practice. Additionally, the violence of subjection in this statement is twofold. Firstly, it is evident in the fact that the game rancher speaks with the authority of his own truth claims. Secondly, Thomas accepts this as truth and reprints the sentiment in his article without any further comment or analysis. The message is clear: international white elite hunters should come to South Africa where their status as white elites will not be a problem. This is not just a slip of the tongue, or a lingering aside. This was spoken as truth and then taken as truth, and is further given heft via the reputation of the publication. Racial homogeneity provides comfort in the wilds of black Africa. Mandela-the-hunter of 1991, as a black African, provided the authenticity of an ‘African’ hunting experience in the veld. Mandela the non-racial politician provides the assurance that hunting will still be white operated, because the current systems of linking hunting to conservation, in the hands of white farmers, are sound and will be maintained. Clues to the disappointments of the post-apartheid, and with the ANC, can be found in the need for the perpetuation of these technologies and practices of hunting through the production of the game farm and the training of black and white bodies in the absence of real structural changes and the present forces of global and local neoliberal economics that uphold them. This is precisely the unwillingness or inability, to cite Legassick via Minkley again, to analyze “the *conditions* for redressing the situation [my emphasis]” and the “structures of South Africa [that] sustain a situation in which it is whites (though not all whites) who are the accumulators of capital, the wealthy, and the powerful, while the majority of blacks (though not all blacks) are the unemployed, the ultra-exploited, the poor and the powerless.”⁶³

⁶³ Minkley, “Legacies of Struggle,” 6.

The accumulation of knowing (knowledge and experience) through ‘training’ in hunting practices has produced a particular normative understanding of hunting.⁶⁴ At the same time this deflects from the racial formations hunting practices have established and enabled – reflected in the aesthetic of the ‘great white hunter’ and embodied in the hunting legislation over the long 20th century from the 1846 Ohrigstad hunting law through to the 1991 Game Theft Act and beyond.⁶⁵ The notion of ‘training’, as in habituation, repetition, routine, factory production line, returns in the figure of a green Mandela, as it does with Mandela’s red Mercedes. This aesthetic is composed of a particular set of practices and work that make visible, and draw the attention of white populations (in southern Africa, Europe, and the United States) to the encounter with the African landscape.

The landscape (in physical geological terms and as an artistic, especially photographic, genre) is another evocative point of connection between the work and the workers of *Red*, *Red Assembly*, and hunting. This landscape features in an aesthetics of hunting just as it does in the visual narrative that Gush creates. The production of this aesthetic and the relationship between its particularity and its ‘ordinari-ish-ness’⁶⁶ is

⁶⁴ Again, this training is about the systemic and assumed, taken for granted, understandings of what hunting as a modern colonial practice entails. See my reading of Arkwright and FitzPatrick and my discussion of ‘training’ in the After Riders chapter, as well as my discussion of Goodrich’s ‘educating attention’ in the Introduction and the Securing Separation chapters.

⁶⁵ I am reading ‘aesthetic’ here through Susan Buck-Morss’ analysis of Walter Benjamin. Buck-Morss argues aesthetics needs to be understood as an experience of sense, thought, memory, and time – a ‘synaesthetic system’ or, via Terry Eagleton, “a discourse of the body”. Susan Buck-Morss, “Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin’s Artwork Essay Reconsidered,” *October* 62 (1992): 6 and 13. On the relationship between art and aesthetic – and I would add, history – I want to think with Robert McGregor’s notion of aesthetic theory as a series of impressions that are part of “a complete aesthetic theory incorporating all the essential concepts: aesthetic object, attitude, experience, and value-and they provide a framework for the discussion of the aesthetic and its relation to art.” Robert McGregor, ‘Art and the Aesthetic’, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 32, no. 4 (Summer 1974): 551.

⁶⁶ This returns to how naming Cecil and the event of his shooting turn an ordinary lion into a Lion, and how an otherwise unremarkable Mercedes becomes as symbol and a labor of love when attached to Mandela, as mentioned above. This notion of ‘ordinari-ish-ness’ is a combination of ideas tabled during Red Assembly

meant to speak to a public in a way that someone could say ‘oh, I know a place like this’.⁶⁷ This knowing, and the creation of familiarity, or ordinariness, in an arguably foreign or exotic landscape and setting, is coded ‘white’ and produced, factory-like, in the space of the private game farm through its images, representations, practices and discourses.

The Production of the Ordinary Technologies of a Hunt

Planning a hunt entails selecting a hunting farm, usually done by searching the Internet, perhaps after having been at a hunting expo. What is being marketed here is an ‘aesthetic of development’ that links hunting, conservation, and development – with a particular space for the black African – for consumption by primarily white hunters. Photographs and information that emphasize the farm’s ability to deliver the components of an authentic hunt populate outfitting websites. Images of an unpeopled *bushveld* (here again the ‘empty’ land, imaginary and myth), often at sunrise or sunset, framed around a *lapa* with sundowners⁶⁸, or game at a watering hole near the lodge, dominate homepages. Various tabs will highlight other aspects of the farm and hunt. ‘Accommodation’ links include images of rooms decorated with animal skins, art (taxidermy trophies, heirloom rifles, masks, photographs of hunters posing with kills), and of the cuisine (*boboti*, *pap*, *boerewoers*, *braai*). Artists and cooks produce the ‘local or African’ art and food that adorns walls and tables, though they themselves are rarely named nor do they feature in

by Tom Wolfe, John Mowitt, and Kevin Murphy to attempt to think about the ways that art interrupts the processes of what we know and practice without thinking, interrupting the ‘ordinary’ here as a routine made unthought, or unexamined, through training.

⁶⁷ This is also the work that the recent popular literature on the Waterberg does in imagining the region, see *Imagining Waterberg* chapter.

⁶⁸ A sundowner is an evening drink, perhaps it could be likened to a *bushveld* aperitif, often a beer or a whiskey.

the images. The tabs linked to hunting services include an assortment of game to be pursued from blinds (usually at watering holes), tracking (capture and kill for a wounded animal like Cecil), skinning (beheading), and documenting (photography, narrative, and taxidermy). Transport information covers not just help with airline recommendations and proper paperwork –for bringing weapons into the country and trophies out of the country – but also to and from the (often remote) farm, as well as around the farm itself.⁶⁹

Transport on the farm is made on the ubiquitous 4x4, most commonly viewed as the Land Rover Defender, even if other ‘*bakkie*’ models also proliferate.⁷⁰ The exhibition and (re)telling of the hunt through all of these images and narratives of satisfied customers serve to market a particular African hunting safari experience to the hunter. This is a new, digital form of the hunting narrative – one that renders similar stories in a multimedia dimension that does the work of both rendering the production of a hunt visible, while simultaneously drawing on the black African labor of the after rider and *swart skut* of old. Further, this is framed as ‘development’ by way of relegating black African labor to particular positions in the production line of the farm and to the unnamed margins or backgrounds of website images, but not at the ‘active stakeholder’ level that a study such as the Lyon report would measure.

Again, most of these images are unpeopled. Recall Mandela’s comments about his concern over the removal of African communities from land to make space for

⁶⁹ All of these components present an inventory of the sorts of the ‘technologies’ associated with the hunt, similar to how an exhibition catalog presents the components and workings of an installation/exhibit.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, Land Rover recently rolled the final Land Rover Defender off the assembly line. The Defender was introduced in the mid-20th century. To mark the ‘end of an era’ of the quintessential safari and utility vehicle, BBC interviewed the head of the Land Rover Defender Owner’s Club of South Africa. This direct connection to *Red* in terms of the technologies and aesthetics of the vehicle, in hunting safaris, and its production and utilization is an opportunity for future research. Interview accessed online – BBC, “Last Land Rover rolls off production line,” January 29, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p03h08jf>.

reserves, or private white farms. Those people return as labor for the production of a hunt (critical for the hunting economy), but not as part of its globally marketed aesthetic imagery or in positions of power or control. Training in the use and consumption of technologies of hunting establishes a normative history of race relations in hunting in what is marked white and what is marked black. If black Africans do enter into these images, it is as drivers behind the wheel of the Defender (like Jim, the driver in *Jock of the Bushveld*) or positioned behind the hunter with his gun. The white farm owner enters the images alongside the white hunter, also holding a gun, or seated around the braai with the hunting party (the cooks and servers absent or only a shadowy presence in the background). This entails an act of erasure, or particular position given, to the black African body in hunting that is always already marked by, resonant with, and connected to colonial governance, the apartheid state, and the structures and archives that have rendered them invisible and exiled them from the land and the hunt.⁷¹ The parallel to the factory worker is striking: despite the anti-apartheid struggle for freedom and sovereignty, the black African body on the rural game farm, as much as the black African body on the (urban) shop floor, is always already modern and conscripted into systems like the factory, the assembly line, discipline, and governance.⁷² The primarily unpeopled images of the *bushveld* are evocative and troubling in similar fashion to the way Gush troubled the images of East London, the strike, and the red Mercedes through the

⁷¹ See also my discussion of the ‘symbolic annihilation of race’ in the After Riders chapter.

⁷² Again, this is Scott’s ‘modern’ where the categories and concepts that mark notions of hunting as conservation as progressive, liberal, market driven cannot be escaped by the laborer finding work through a practice of racial numerical redress categorized as ‘social responsibility’. Such a categorization in itself implies an unequal power relation where the existing structures of hunting practices are ‘responsible’ for training people to fill the labor roles in game farming – a recurrence of a paternalist mode of stewardship that extends into control of land and resources.

unpeopled still shots of the factory and landscapes placed alongside the physical and audible presence of the workers' interviews in the film.

Harry Wels uses the term the 'logic of the camp' to analyze the landscapes of private game conservancies not as wilderness, but as spaces marked by militarized control of inclusion and exclusion, order and disorder, and conservator and poacher.⁷³

Recall that Baucom, via Agamben, sees the camp as the state of exclusion (where the law is suspended) and my argument that the hunting farm and attendant landowner hunting rights is intimately connected to claims of sovereignty.⁷⁴ The practice of exclusion, through the boundaries of the fence, security measures, and insider, outsider, intruder dynamics both extended from, and helped to legitimate conservation and, as I argued in the Securing Separations chapter above, hunting efforts. In the production of the hunting farm, the technologies of the hunt become the drivers of movement (of people, technology, and animals) across the 'hard edge'⁷⁵ of the fence boundary. Through training in these technologies, which has been ongoing since the hunting expeditions of the 19th century (and their narration),⁷⁶ they become normalized. This is not just a training of black bodies to fit a particular role in the wilderness aesthetic of the hunt but of how to exercise and maintain white control in these spaces.

⁷³ Harry Wels, *Securing Wilderness Landscapes in South Africa: Nick Steele, Private Wildlife Conservancies and Saving Rhinos* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2015), 28. Wels draws the phrase 'logic of the camp' from Bulent Diken and Carsten Bagge Laustsen, *The culture of exception. Sociology facing the camp* (London, New York: Routledge, 2005).

⁷⁴ Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*, 185. See my discussion in *Achter die berg* chapter.

⁷⁵ Wels, *Securing Wilderness Landscapes*, 28.

⁷⁶ Such 'training' hearkens back to the English/Afrikaner/European travelogues and diaries of the 19th century and to early photography, exhibition and collection hunting artifacts/trophies. These sources established the colonial/settler aesthetics of hunting in Africa that continue to dominate our understanding, imagination/imaginaries, enactment, discourses etc. of hunting today, just as the heroic image of struggle dominates our understanding of South Africa and the post-apartheid era, despite the recent ruptures/dissent. See the After Riders chapter.

Wels includes a series of photos of the training for Zulu game guards.⁷⁷ One in particular shows three young white boys in the background, sitting on the wall watching the training of Zulu game guards.⁷⁸ There is a double training that takes place here. One is covered by Wels when he discusses the militarizing of Zulu game guards and the farm fence as border. The second, which Wels does not address, is of the young white boys watching and, by inference, learning how to train Zulu men to be a particular type of body on the landscape, the game guard, under supervision of white governance and management – the proper demarcation of white/black, civilized/savage. The game guard is the post-apartheid after rider. This is a different kind of aesthetic, a darker and more hidden one, that lets one see the darkness behind the prettier images of hunting on the *veld*. The inversion draws attention to the absence of the black body in the imagery of the hunting farm website. This is not just a recognition that black Africans remain in the role of worker versus the white boys who grow up to manage or own the hunting farm; it illustrates the active role such training programs continue to play for learning, and thus repeating, logics of racial interaction in and through hunting. An international hunter arriving for safari to consume the commodity of a hunt in the *veld* has these logics reinforced as he/she participates in the hunt. There is order and control, a factory of production, not unlike that at the Mercedes plant in East London, that brings the hunter in, moves him/her along through the lodge, the *lapa*, the trail, the hide, the aim, the shot, the tracking, photographs, skinning and processes, the *braaiing* of the meat, the accommodation, and the transport home of hunter, animal, weapon, and field gear. All of these steps that make up a hunt are enable through the labor of black African workers –

⁷⁷ Wels, *Securing Wilderness Landscapes*, 116-120.

⁷⁸ Wels, *Securing Wilderness Landscapes*, 119 Figure 22.

cooks, lodge staff, trackers, skimmers, drivers, etc. The hunting game farm is then both aesthetic and material consumption of the *veld*, the game, and the black African body that has been forcibly removed from it.

Politics of Protest, Protest Politics

Palmer didn't just kill a lion. He killed an especially good-looking and 'beloved' lion in an ostentatious and gruesome fashion that culminated in decapitation. To make things worse, that lion had a human name. To make things worse still, that name was Cecil. It's hard to think of a more innocent name than Cecil.⁷⁹

It is through the act of naming that the lion named Cecil was individuated from other 'trophies' ordinarily hunted as big game in Africa.⁸⁰ This act of naming is related to certain aesthetics, values, and desires of a romantic wild Africa, often captured through the depiction of live animals under big skies with indigenous flora or spectacular sunsets under the rubric of 'nature'.⁸¹ This aesthetic persists despite continued scholarship calling for a revisiting of its production (see the discussion of hunting websites above).⁸² Cecil was beloved by many, known through photo safaris and conservation research. Yet a disconnection from even the broadest histories of the region also marks the adoration of Cecil. By invoking the name Cecil as 'innocent,' Klint Finley completely misses the

⁷⁹ James Hamblin. "My Outrage is Better than Your Outrage," *The Atlantic*, July 31, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2015/07/outrage-rip-cecil-lion/400037/>. Hamblin comments on the use of the term 'beloved' from Klint Finley, "Internet Attacks Lion Killer with Poisoned Yelp Reviews," *Wired*, July 28, 2015, <http://www.wired.com/2015/07/yelp-poacher/?mbid=social>.

⁸⁰ Conversely, black African men were, and are still, referred to simply as 'boy', perhaps with a designator of 'house boy' or 'garden boy'. See my note on this term in the After Riders chapter.

⁸¹ For examples in the Waterberg see, <http://lapalala.com/gallery/>, <http://waterbergnatureconservancy.org.za>. A Google images search for 'Waterberg hunting farms' produces a series of these images.

⁸² The critique is found in scholarship exemplified by Adams and McShane. An example of the persistence of this aesthetic in literature on the Waterberg is Lex Rodger, *Waterberg: Vintage Waterberg and Timeless Waterberg* (Johannesburg: Rodger Family, 2010).

connection to Cecil John Rhodes, whom the lion was named after.⁸³ This despite a contemporaneous, and much reported on, #RhodesMustFall movement and ongoing struggles within the universities in South Africa in protest of colonial figureheads and inheritances. The contentious debate sparked by this hunt, when put into conversation with a red Mercedes and a green Mandela, demands a critical rethinking of the relationship between information technology and the production of hunting in Africa as one of successful conservation and rural social development – a ‘training’ that continues to struggle with legacies of colonialism and apartheid.

Unlike Gush’s *Red*, here I can only ‘assemble’ Cecil through the photography, narratives, and portraits circulated through the media. Yet the parallels between technological imagery (still shots in the film, black and white hunting photography, Internet and social media dissemination) and the space of production (the factory and the farm), as seemingly concerned with aesthetics of beauty (a red Mercedes and a beloved lion), in fact point to blood and violence, to war. This is clear when you walk into *Red* – it speaks of the violence of factory production, labor struggle, hunting down workers who build for Mandela instead of capitalism. This is also clear in a reading of Cecil – the death of a lion, the calls for the death of his killer, the struggles of the farm laborers on the margins of a hunting economy.

⁸³ Harriet Alexander and Peta Thornycroft, “Cecil the lion’s final photograph,” *The Telegraph*, July 28, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/11768872/Cecil-the-lions-final-photograph.html>. The associations between Red Assembly and Cecil the Lion as the namesake of Cecil Rhodes are intriguing – Rhodes’ Cape to Cairo railroad project was meant to be a ‘red line’ across the continent, invoking the red color used to denote British colonial territories on maps. See Lewis Freeman, “Rhodes’s ‘All Red’ Route: The Effect Of The War On The Cape-To-Cairo And The Control Of A Continent,” *The World’s Work: A History of Our Time XXIX* (January 1915), 327–355, https://books.google.com/books?id=l_2m8M7DSsC&pg=RA1-PA327&hl=en#v=onepage&q&f=false

The eulogies for Cecil produced in the wake of his death read as the biography of a dead human body and not of an animal. An article in the *New York Times* noted how some protesters latched on to the hash tag #CatLivesMatter⁸⁴, which along with the commentary about Cecil's personality and fame, seeks to place the value of the lion's life and the mournability of its death on equal level with the killing of black bodies.⁸⁵ A Cecil tribute gallery was started on the WildCRU website of the Oxford research team that was monitoring Cecil. This invocation of the aesthetic of Cecil for scientific research and conservation efforts/funding is one of the many ways technology operates in proliferating a politics of conservation that deflects from, or undermines, discussions of race, especially when combined with a hash tag like #CatLivesMatter.⁸⁶ The arguments criticizing a response like #CatLivesMatter emphasized that there is problem with the large outpouring and reaction of people to Cecil when others like Sandra Bland (apparent suicide after 3 days in jail for a traffic stop) and Samuel DuBose (shot in the head by a police officer) did not get the same attention. This shows blatant disregard for the #BlackLivesMatter and the #RhodesMustFall movements working to center discussions on the continuing implications of racism and inequality. The local #BlackLivesMatter protests in response to the deaths of Bland, DuBose, and others are linked through a hash tag to global concerns with race. Race does not merely haunt South Africa and similar regimes of settler late liberalism".⁸⁷ As events in the past few years – the escalation of

⁸⁴ Christina Capecchi and Katie Rogers, "Killer of Cecil the Lion Finds Out That He Is a Target Now, of Internet Vigilantism," *The New York Times*, July 29, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/30/us/cecil-the-lion-walter-p...ords=AUDDEVREMARK&kwp_0=34948&kwp_4=207615&kwp_1=179922&r=0.

⁸⁵ Roxane Gay, "Of Lions and Men: Mourning Samuel DuBose and Cecil the Lion," *The New York Times*, July 31, 2015, <http://mobile.nytimes.com/2015/08/01/opinion/of-lions-and-men-mourning-samuel-dubose-and-cecil-the-lion.html?referrer&r=0>.

⁸⁶ <https://www.wildcru.org/cecil-the-lion-gallery/>

⁸⁷ Elizabeth Povinelli, *Geontologies: A Requiem to Late Liberalism*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 5.

police violence against black people and the free reign given to radical expressions of racial hatred in the U.S.; and the transformation of the Mediterranean into a deadly trap for migrants and refugees from conflict areas and from Africa – have made abundantly clear, race and anti-racism are perhaps *the* critical issues of our time. Critiques of the perpetuation of systemic, institutional racism in the time after civil rights and in the time after apartheid are separated locally, but connected globally in the time and technologies of globalization of neoliberal exchanges. Joshua Williams takes this critique of mournability further, drawing on Gay and Brokely Carmichael’s twitter comments about black people needing to dress up as lions in order to be mourned.⁸⁸ He critiques the endless social media ‘what about this cause’-outrage that fueled the explosion of responses to Cecil. This back and forth of critique quickly moved beyond the events surrounding Cecil and became a practice of ‘outrage one-upmanship’.⁸⁹ Recall the epigraph from Minkley here, that merely “seeking alternative, vernacular and multiple modernities,” merely seeking numerical redress in the volume and scope of references to lives that matter, is a cynical proliferation that deflects from an engagement with the production of black lives as having been *made* marginal, with the historical sign of the black life, and how or why they matter.

Pro- and anti- hunting arguments – most often cast in the language of conservation, of animal rights and of righteous outrage against (animal) cruelty – both defer the politics of race and refuse to address the historical processes that underpin the

⁸⁸ Joshua Williams, “The lions and the hunters,” *Africa is a Country*, August 3, 2015, <http://africasacountry.com/2015/08/the-lions-and-the-hunters/>. This critique of black people represented as animals resonates with the recent controversy surrounding South African political cartoonist Jonathan Shapiro, or ‘Zapiro’. Eusebius McKaiser, “Artistic Criticism Isn’t Censorship,” *Cape Times*, May 29, 2016, <http://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/artistic-criticism-isnt-censorship-2027697>.

⁸⁹ Hamblin, “My Outrage is Better than Your Outrage.”

assumptions of who is, or should be, driving the discussion of hunting and conservation in, and of, Africa. The critique aimed at this deferral by people like Williams is a critique of white upper class affluence as the continued normative standard. Yet it is a critique of whiteness and the continued racism and inequality of/in hunting practices that fail to grapple with the larger systems and processes of financial capital, and late capitalism, that continue to structure, and be structured by, white upper class norms and privileges. In South Africa this racial critique extends both to black frustration with the ANC government and its promises of social and economic development after 1994, and to white frustration with the ‘disintegration’ of South African infrastructure and governance since 1994. The sentiments of white frustration about the disintegration of South Africa (similar to the rotting disintegrating corpse of Cecil which could not be retrieved, and resonating also with the disassembled red Mercedes, gutted and displayed as art) were a common theme in my discussion with hunters and farm owners from the Waterberg in the immediate aftermath of Cecil’s death. Palmer made an easy scapegoat as the foreign hunter from the United States who did not follow the rules/conventions/decorum/ that govern (white) hunting. This discourse about the disintegration of South Africa, from a hunting perspective, (re)animates the degradation and preservation narrative in the form of racial and ethnic nationalism and calls for ‘making South Africa great again’ (to poach a Donald Trump slogan). Regarding a hunting farm that was now owned by a black family as the result of a successful land claim, one farmer noted that, “they [blacks] destroyed the land, and packed it with their people.”⁹⁰ Another woman related that she would, “never understand them [blacks], they are just different and always will be.”⁹¹

⁹⁰ Interview, Game Farm Manager, 6 August 2017.

⁹¹ Interview, Farm Owner, 6 August 2017.

Later in our conversation she reflected on the apartheid years and attempted to clarify how ‘they’ just did not realize that Verwoerd was attempting to realize his vision for a ‘Europe in South Africa’ with different languages and cultures.⁹² For rural white farmer owners and hunters in the Waterberg, these attitudes result in a *laagering* of the wagons and a tightening of the grip on control of scarce resources – land and animals, and labor.⁹³ Many white professional hunters and farm owners feel that “[t]he blacks have ruined the country” in only 20 years and they spoke about how great life, and business, was before ‘they’ took over.⁹⁴ Pre-1994 is invoked as the so-called ‘good old days’ and for white South African post-apartheid hunters, particularly Afrikaners, recapturing that spirit, going all the way back to the *voortrekker* days is part of the performance of hunting.⁹⁵ The focus of conversation with white hunters and landowners about the ‘the good old days’ is on infrastructure and efficiency, but what goes unsaid is that this was enabled through cheap exploited labor where whites benefited from racist policies. Additionally, this infrastructure and efficiency was tied to the global network of international big game hunting that came to the farms, these sites of hunting production, to consume and extract animals and the experience of wild Africa.

The efforts at redress in South Africa over the past 24 years necessarily cut into the economic, social, legal, political comforts of whites, though not all whites. Those seeming to harbor the most animosity toward these efforts of redress are the smaller farmers and the local biltong hunters, whose middle class ways of life are being squeezed between the rise of a black middle class and the intensified accumulation of power,

⁹² Interview, Farm Owner, 6 August 2017.

⁹³ Recall Wels’ ‘logic of the camp’ here. To *laager* wagons means to circle wagons into a defensive position for protection from attack – animal or human.

⁹⁴ Interview, Game Farm Manager, 4 August 2015.

⁹⁵ Goodrich, *Biltong Hunting*, 113-114.

capital, and resources of the big farms and those with political power. In the Waterberg this manifests itself in frustration about hunting farm management and economy. These days, “they [blacks] cannot be trusted, or fired...there are too many of them and too many other black Africans coming to South Africa...they are threat to the country and to business.”⁹⁶ This extends into other concerns beyond hunting, where there is a concern about the “drain” of social grants on the country as a whole, with local effects articulated as the inability to find ‘good’ farm workers.⁹⁷ The anxieties around the political and economic stresses of sustaining a livelihood in a globally connected industry of hunting (marked by wealth and class) become expressed locally along, and reinforce racial lines and are tied to the failures of both apartheid and the post-apartheid. As a result the ‘logic of the camp,’ the *laagering*, intensifies. Within the white farming communities of the Waterberg, a careful accounting and narration of deaths in ‘farm murders’ marks the intensity of this feeling of disintegration.⁹⁸ This recently culminated in the Monday, October 30th 2017 protests that were held across South Africa in memory of farmers who have been murdered. Protesters wore black and participated in marches, road blockades, moments of silence, prayer gatherings and more. The protests were widely circulated on social media, particularly on Facebook. The hash tag #BlackMonday proliferated. Local, national and international media outlets also picked up the story.⁹⁹ While murders and

⁹⁶ Interview, Farm Owner, 9 August 2015.

⁹⁷ Informal conversation, Waterberg Game Farm, 4 August 2015.

⁹⁸ Shortly after becoming Facebook ‘friends’ with a contact in South Africa, I began seeing new posts as well as suggested sites in my newsfeed related farm murders, such as the “Stop Farm Attacks & Murders” page, <https://www.facebook.com/StopFarmAttacksMudersInSouthAfrica/>. Without these connections, I would not have such ‘news’ in my algorithm and not be exposed to it. This nature of the algorithm is significant in understanding how people are connected, what crosses various people’s newsfeeds, through which media outlets, and in relation to what other events.

⁹⁹ Maroela Media <https://maroelamedia.co.za>, Vaalweekblad - <https://www.facebook.com/Vaalweekblad/>, Afriforum - <https://www.afriforum.co.za/home/>, South Africa Today - www.southafricatoday.net. “South

attacks on farms may be on the rise, precise statistics are difficult to come by because there is no official category for ‘farm murders.’¹⁰⁰ But race *is* a metric collected in the data. White South Africans, the majority of protesters of ‘farm murders,’ remain the least likely racial group in the country to be murdered.¹⁰¹ Farm murders do not just take place on hunting farms, nor do only poachers commit them. Murders take place on agricultural and mixed-use farms as well. Not all farmers or hunters are white. Not all poachers are black. Yet, the racial generalizations made on social media regarding farm murders break strikingly along the racial divides and inequalities that persist in South Africa in game farm communities, and where again poachers are considered black and hunters are considered white.¹⁰² Amid these conversations are calls for increased security of farms at a community level. The training and language of these groups is highly militarized, which is unsurprising in a rural region where many farm owners are former military and where counter-terrorism practices are used on anti-poaching patrols. The hunting of so-called ‘poachers’ and heightened calls for increased militarization and patrol are part of daily life.

In the Waterberg, an example of this is the Community Policing Forum (CPF) based in Lephalale (Ellisras).¹⁰³ Despite the website being ‘GPF’ and the Facebook page also being ‘GPF’ (in Afrikaans - *Gemeenskapspolisiëringsforum*), the info on the website talks about CPF Lephalale, or Community Policing Forum, entirely in English. CPF is a community organization that partners in policing with the South African Police (SAPS),

Africans hold #BlackMonday protests over farm murders,” BBC, October 30, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41802942>. Accessed 31 October 2017.

¹⁰⁰ “South Africans hold #BlackMonday protests over farm murders.”

¹⁰¹ “South Africans hold #BlackMonday protests over farm murders.”

¹⁰² Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*.

¹⁰³ *Gemeenskapspolisiërings* forum <http://gpflephalale.co.za>, or CFP – Community Policing Forum. Accessed 31 October 2017.

and has its own contact number, trained staff, and focus on community issues, as well as rhino poaching. They also advertise that they have ‘GFP *Spoorsnyers & Reaksie*’, or CPF Trackers and Response. They cover four Sectors of the Lephalale area – Marapong (township), Onverwacht, Ellisras, and Farms and Plots. Each sector has sub-sectors with chairmen that plan patrols and provide information. I know that many of the farms around the Lephalale area are private game farms. While the Farms and Plots sector could include plots in black communities, CPF’s emergency radio channel is DELTA1 and has the tone of military response/action. The language of the CPF’s vision and mission is very much about crime reduction for “the benefit of all” in the community. Yet it seems that most people who are citing this organization on Facebook are whites in the community.

Near the small town of Marken in the Waterberg, a farmer detailed how he had not had much sleep that week because he spent most of his nights on anti-poaching patrols. His days were spent in the *veld* with hunting clients. He carried a handgun on his belt. Handguns are not used to hunt animals; they are used for hunting people.¹⁰⁴ While anti-poaching is the rallying cry in the hunting areas of South Africa, the protection of the white body and of the way of life for the white game farm owner or manager is necessarily subsumed into this state of militarization. The black African, whose entrance and exit into the space of the farm is strictly controlled (this harkens back to the strict control of African movement/migration into urban areas during apartheid, and to the control of African labor in the mine compounds, camps of the 19th and early 20th century), is constructed both as predator (game guards and patrols) and as prey

¹⁰⁴ Interview, Game Farm Owner, 5 August 2015.

(poachers). Differentiating the two is not always ‘black and white.’ Though the blood spilled from all bodies remains red.

Technology and History

A sustained look at the events around the killing of Cecil reveals the production of the post-apartheid hunting industry as constructed along technological lines. Initially this can be seen through the role of high-tech violence in Cecil’s death – crossbow and gun, photography of the kill, the tracking (via Cecil’s collar and modern GPS technology) to the decaying carcass. Underlying this is the production of the space of the farm. This led to the equally high-tech investigations into records of Palmer, Bronkhorst, Ndlovu, as well as hunting and conservation statistics.¹⁰⁵ Further, this led to the equally high-tech location of debate and protests over Cecil and what his death meant in the forum of new communication technologies – protests marked in different ways based on who was protesting. When viewed from the perspective of *Red*, Cecil is an interruption into the ordinary, normative operations of the technologies of the hunt. The narratives that emerged around Cecil expose the emerging and more efficient deployment of race through hunting in the post-apartheid tied up in a global industry of hunting and conservation – the large protest focus on #BlackLivesMatter, #CatLivesMatter, #RhodesMustFall versus the lack of engagement with Ndlovu, the black farm owner, and the modes of production of the game farm.

¹⁰⁵ The Oxford research group WildCRU, reporting on the aftermath of Cecil, utilized GPS records and large-scale online keyword tracking in order to detail the social media trends of the Cecil story – Cecil’s digital footprints, or spoor. D. W. Macdonald, Kim S. Jacobsen, Dawn Burnham, Paul J. Johnson and Andrew J. Loveridge, “Cecil: A Moment or a Movement? Analysis of Media Coverage of the Death of a Lion, *Panthera leo*,” *Animals* 6, no. 26 (April 25, 2016), <http://www.mdpi.com/2076-2615/6/5/26>. Additionally, the speed with which reporters accessed and published the backstories of Palmer, Bronkhorst, and Ndlovu indicate the prolific availability and breadth of technological penetration into society.

If we take Bernard Stiegler's assertion that today's world suffers from an attention deficiency and that information technology fills the void of time that coincides with the symptoms of boredom and apathy – a malaise that is “the crux of a much more general blockage of thought - and much more than thought”¹⁰⁶ – we must, then, *think* carefully about the (re)presentation of racial assumptions embedded in narratives that get consumed, internalized, and repeated but not critically investigated. In a world of ‘democratized’ imagery and ‘art’ via the platforms of social media, the work of *Red* as an installation and film demands a sustained engagement with the technologies that produce a hyper saturation of information. The very tangible relationship to time in the experience of information through *Red* – where a viewer physically has to walk, stop, look, and listen – marks a pause that demands a witnessing of events, one that is different to the scrolling culture of the Facebook feed via phone and computer. Similarly, a tracker (and his hunter) stalks its prey on the hunting farm by waking, stopping, looking, and listening. Yet there is something about the hyper-industrial nature of information technology that short-circuits the sustained engagement with issues such as race and its continuing legacies that an event such as Cecil has the potential to demand (despite garnering brief attention and comment).¹⁰⁷ Perhaps it is precisely in the ‘hyper’ nature of information filling the void of boredom and apathy¹⁰⁸ – always a new event trending, a new cause to devote a ‘like’ and a ‘comment’ – that the possibility of sustaining an attentive critique at a deep level across a broad audience is lost. Performing a hunt in the

¹⁰⁶ Bernard Stiegler, *Technics and Time, 3: Cinematic Time and the Question of Malaise*, trans. Stephen Barker (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 6.

¹⁰⁷ WildCRU, who had been monitoring Cecil as part of their conservation work, has chronicled the impact of Cecil and has worked to make ‘Cecil the moment’ into ‘Cecil the Movement’. D. W. Macdonald et. al. “Cecil: A Moment or a Movement?”

¹⁰⁸ Stiegler, *Technics and Time*, 6.

bushveld (the stop/look/listen of tracking in the field) as an escape from the hyper-industrial world we live in (despite utilizing that world to research and organize, as well as post about that same hunt) does not open the hunter to a space of critique, but replays though the practice of the hunt the comfort and reassurance of the ‘good old days’.

Despite *Time Magazine* naming Cecil the Most Influential Animal of 2016,¹⁰⁹ there has been very little global public attention paid to Cecil and the issues debated around him since August and September 2015.¹¹⁰ Instead, what does persist is the legacy of power relations along racial lines in hunting. Internet and information technology are not a unifying way of dissolving this power divide between technology and its ability to other, or to deflect from the production of the other. But, via Stiegler, it is a language that few understand and whose presentations we are merely subject to as consumers, not active but latent participants (stakeholders) in and consumers of its exercise of power.¹¹¹

The image of Mandela with his blesbok promised a future that has yet to come.¹¹² Frustration from a rural black South Africa perspective sees this continued marginalization as a violent and exclusionary takeover of an ANC liberation struggle by global capital’s hunting institutions; liberals see the relative stability of trophy hunting,

¹⁰⁹ Joel Stein, “These are Time’s 100 Most Influential Animals of 2016,” *Time*, April 21, 2016, <http://time.com/4301509/most-influential-animals/>. There was a brief reprise of Cecil in the news when his brother died of natural causes in Hwange National Park in October 2016. Jane Flanagan, “Cecil the Lion’s brother is found dead under a bush in the same safari park where he was shot dead by a trophy-hunting dentist,” *Daily Mail*, October 31, 2016, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3890808/Cecil-Lion-s-brother-dead-bush-safari-park-shot-dead-trophy-hunting-dentist.html> and again a brief article in 2018 when new evidence of the specifics of the baiting and killing emerged from an investigation by Andrew Loveridge, one of the Oxford biologists who had been studying Cecil. Joe Vitale, “Horrific details emerge about Cecil the lion’s gruesome death,” *New York Post*, March 7, 2018, https://nypost.com/2018/03/07/cecil-the-lion-died-incredibly-cruel-..._sitebuttons&utm_medium=site%20buttons&utm_campaign=site%20buttons.

¹¹⁰ The sustained engagement with Cecil remains primarily confined to those whose livelihoods are linked directly to hunting and conservation – hunters, landowners, laborers, and researchers.

¹¹¹ Bernard Stiegler, *Symbolic Misery Volume 1: The Hyper-industrial Epoch*, trans. B. Norman (Malden, Polity Press, 2014), 59.

¹¹² Premesh Lalu, “Mandela is very much with us!,” *Economic & Political Weekly* 48, no. 26-27 (June 29, 2013), <http://www.epw.in/journal/2013/26-27/web-exclusives/mandela-very-much-us.html>.

though threatened by poaching and animal rights activists, as a mark of society's progress,¹¹³ with black South Africans now enjoying many of the rights and protections once denied them – these are roughly the two camps that comprise the global Cecil debate. They highlight the problem of the limits of 'alternatives' – better conservation, more regulation, and heavier surveillance as forms of redress. I argue that what is needed is to shift the focus from endless "alternative, vernacular and multiple modernities," as Minkley puts it, to one of understanding the conditions and structures of the current modes of production that govern hunting, conditions and structures that remain inflected by race and are productive of the continued racial ordering of the world.¹¹⁴

If hunting is to rediscover the politics that the image of Mandela in 1991 seemed to promise, an event such as the death of Cecil must be approached the way Gush approached the red Mercedes. The technologies of hunting – lions, hunters, farms, workers, fences, guns, photographs, websites, etc. – must be disassembled and reassembled in order to provide a fresh look at how life for black South African game farm workers in a white owned and organized industry remains a production of violence, with both the animals and the most marginalized sitting at the lethal end of (or in the sites and sights of) the gun, their blood staining the veld.

¹¹³ See the discussion of Clive Walker and others in the *Imagining Waterberg* chapter.

¹¹⁴ Minkley, 'Legacies of Struggle', 8. I am also drawing here on Helena Pohlandt-McCormick's comments from *Red Assembly* that tragedy 'rubs the wrong way' and how perhaps we need to view tragedy as an inheritance, or, to put it slightly differently, perhaps as one of recurring training.

Conclusion

This dissertation has argued that hunting, through its narration, its practices, and its policies, is central to the constitution of race in the Waterberg, and South Africa more broadly, since the middle of the 19th century. This is not to say that history in the region began with the arrival white hunters, but instead to argue that hunting as a conceptual field produced race and racism in particular ways as it expanded white trade, capital, governance, and security in a region that had been occupied for centuries by black Africans. Drawing on Chamayou's framing of the manhunt as a both a literal hunting of people as well as an exercise of state power over its citizens, I have examined how hunting as practice and its inscription in narratives and policies operated to protect access and rights to land and animals for white hunters, while turning black Africans and their hunting knowledge/practices into an after rider and an after thought. I have shown how the persistence of these modes of producing hunting through the power of the state have accumulated to the extent that today the modern post-apartheid project of hunting as sustainable development repeats practices of marginalizing black Africans in hunting and yet obscures this long history of racial formation through hunting. Race continues to 'float', under the surface of hunting, but swirling in every aspect of its operation. It haunts as a spectre, not of Baucom's Atlantic, but of the *bushveld*, the *berg*, or the Palala, and the farm. I have sought here to examine how hunting came to constitute this white/black African marker of race, its relation to the land and animals, and its persistent accumulation.

The prompt for investigating the processes through which black Africans have been racialized, marginalized, and silenced through hunting comes from the persistence

of racial inequality in the post-apartheid era, the failures of hunting as sustainable development to bring about radical changes to this inequality, and recurrence of race and racism as the most significant way that social interaction is shaped in the Waterberg today. I examined the reimagining of the Waterberg in post-apartheid literature about the region as a wilderness paradise in need of protection through conservation and preservation, of which hunting is an integral practice and industry. In doing so I noted how these new histories of the region draw on a particular long ecological, geological, and historical past – the ‘pre-historic’ Stone Age, Iron Age, and San, as well as the modern white settler *voortrekker* past – that frames hunting and conservation in a way that obscures the intimate connections of race with hunting that still operate in the Waterberg today.

Such a prompting required an analysis of the hunting narratives that first began to articulate the social order that white hunting practices brought to the Waterberg. The making of race in the Waterberg is about language; it is about discourse – the constellation of texts that circulate and inform each other, providing meaning and power in their deployment and accumulation – and how discourses converge in contingent or surprising ways through hunting. Language is one of the most central modes for spreading racial ideology. I have argued how the hunting narratives that inscribed after riders into particular positions of hunting practice also wrote those positions – understood as marginal, exploitable, replaceable, uncivilized, in need of development – into a system of organizing people in relation to the land and to animals. These hunting narratives proliferated, as evidenced by the over 600 titles compiled in Czech’s *Annotated Bibliography* (which is not comprehensive), and they were the means through which the

Waterberg and the hunting frontier in the Transvaal was made known and thus understood. These narratives trained people in racial interactions in the *bushveld* via the language of hunting. Practices of, and ideas about, hunting and their interactions between white and black African hunters – gear, weaponry, hunting strategy, food, drink, routines of a hunt, notions of ‘safari’, relationships with black African guides/trackers and their knowledge, song, storytelling, exhibit, trophy, status, adventure – were negotiated in multiple ways. However I have shown through an analysis of Arkwright’s journal and FitzPatrick’s *Jock of the Bushveld*, how the particular discursive rendering of these hunting practices constituted an archive of knowledge about what hunting ‘should be’ from the perspective and the position of power of the white hunter. This laid the groundwork and marked out the categories of people, land, and animals that would become the subjects/objects of the exercise of state power.

In tracking the development and accumulation over time of hunting laws in the Transvaal, I argue that the administration of hunting was centrally racial and about securing white claims to sovereignty over land and animals. My analysis of these hunting laws from the mid-1800s through early 1900s has shown how race as a marker of difference was increasingly inscribed in law and policy, despite contested debates about the realities of racial interaction in rural areas such as the Waterberg. Putting the figure of J. du Plessis de Beer (Volksraad member from the Waterberg) and his concerns about poor whites into discussion with James Stevenson-Hamilton and the proposed Palala Game Reserve, I examined how hunting linked land and capital through proscribing racial laws about access to animals via a hunt. The space of the farm, as much as the space of a reserve (both game and ‘native’ reserve) became a key site for marking white

claims to sovereignty. These claims found support through returning to the pioneering hunting exploits of earlier hunters and *voortrekkers* as found in hunting narratives. By accessing some of this material and these debates through Jane Carruthers' work, I also drew a parallel argument for how race and racialism became embedded in discussions of hunting and game protection as part of an field of environmental history, with the result that making of race often gets overlooked despite being materially and conceptually inseparable from hunting.

Land ownership was one of the central pieces for white control of the rural areas in the Transvaal. I examined in detail the category of occupier through the 1945 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Game Preservation and the subsequent 1949 Game Ordinance as a way to understand hunting's connections to the broader emerging racial governance of the 1940s and the political rise of the National Party. By arguing that the removal of occupier status for black Africans on farms was part of a long process of accumulating racial discourse through hunting, I make visible the processes by which black Africans became 'exiles' from the land and how the expansion of such racial language tied to hunting practice and the farm operated as a 'manhunt' by the state. As piece of the long 20th century examined in this dissertation, the 1945 Game Commission provides a look into how hunting persisted as a key social activity on farms in the rural areas of the Transvaal and how its it enabled the recurrence and expansion of racial inequality and injustice regarding land and animals.

One of the principal reimaginings of hunting since the later half of the 20th century has been around hunting as development. This has been promoted through conservation and preservation discourses and local community development. My analysis

of the evolving language of race through hunting – the discursive shift from explicit uses of ‘bantu’ or ‘native’ to the supposedly race-neutral administrative language of owners, conservators, stakeholders, local communities – has revealed the simultaneous obscuring of the racial organization of hunting with the hardening of racial assumptions in the administration of hunting. The Lyon study, as a post-apartheid report, frames my discussion of how hunting and the ‘game ordinances’ became subsumed under ‘nature conservation’ in the second half of the 20th century. The result of this is that studies of the environment and of hunting become concerned with the addressing the level of success of sustainably developing local communities and animal populations without examining the implicit imbalance of power across the various stakeholders in hunting and related industries. This imbalance continues to favor white landowners and hunters (economically and discursively) while assuming a particular position about the black African ‘locals’ in need of development, and upon whose development the hunting industry depends. These notions recur through new and reprinted hunting narratives, ideas about rural farm development, and racialized hunting policies that further limited black African access to hunting.

By returning to the post-apartheid in via Cecil the lion, *Red*, and Nelson Mandela I connect the threads of race and hunting that run through this dissertation. The reimagining of the Waterberg discussed in the opening chapter collides with Cecil/*Red*/Mandela in a way that disturbs the waters of the pristine wilderness that is the face of the Waterberg today. I argue that the particular type of ‘training’ I explored around the ‘after rider’ in chapter two reappears in the figure of Mandela and his hunt. I have shown how despite the optimism of Mandela’s hunt and the coming ‘new’ South

Africa of 1994, hunting remained a constitutive practice with regards to race in the post-apartheid. Attempts to manage the anxieties of the post-apartheid – particularly white rural economic uncertainty and environmental and cultural protection – are, in hunting, mediated through the hyper-technical media of places like Facebook, and addressed through protests like #BlackMonday and militarized farm protection. Yet this same hyper-technical media also presents the hunting and safari farm as the beautiful space of wild Africa, the space that needs development and protection. In all this, the black African remains figured in a marginalized position, outside the frame of the beauty of the *bushveld*, but inside the fence as the labor that makes such an image possible.

This dissertation has shown how hunting has been central to the making of race in the Waterberg. The language of hunting is reflective of a development of race as a notion/concept that had to be created as the defining category of the social in southern Africa. I have argued that this was not a teleological march of racial prejudice across a rural frontier, but rather a long accumulation of the language of race through hunting practice and its narration. My analysis has shown how the issue of race as associated with hunting is deeply structural and social and tied closely to the dependence of white settler capital and property on black African labor. The processes described here are a reminder that despite the post-apartheid commitment to redress along racial lines, the obstacles faced by efforts at sustainable development through hunting pose urgent historical questions about how it is that race has been constituted and continues to organize the social.

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APPENDIX

List of Acts and Ordinances

Game Law 1846 (The Ohrigstad law)

Jagwet 1858 (Hunting Law)

Law No. 10 of 1870 (Hunting Law)

Law No. 6 of 1891 (Hunting Law)

Law No. 5 of 1894 (Hunting Law Amendment)

Ordinance 29 of 1902 (Game Ordinance)

Crown Land Disposal Ordinance No. 57 of 1903

Game Preservation Ordinance No. 6 of 1905.

Game Preservation Amendment Act 13 of 1907

Game Preservation Amendment Act 11 of 1909

Crown Land Disposal Amendment Ordinance No. 13 of 1906.

Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913.

Wildordonnansie (Game Ordinance) No. 11 1935.

Game Amendment Ordinance No. 10 of 1936

Native Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936.

Game Amendment Ordinance No. 11 of 1941.

Game Ordinance No. 23 of 1949.

Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950

Game Amendment Ordinance No. 23 1950,

Game Amendment Ordinance No. 20 1952,

Game Amendment Ordinance 1954.

Trespass Act No. 6 of 1959

Fencing Act No. 31 of 1963

Nature Conservation Ordinance No. 17 of 1967

Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1967.

Transvaal Nature Conservation Ordinance No. 12 of 1983

Game Theft Act No. 103 of 1991